



John Adams

1792

C. G. Adams
1796



THE
MODERN TRAVELLER.

VOLUME THE TWELFTH.

PERSIA AND CHINA.

VOL. I.

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THE
MODERN TRAVELLER.

A
DESCRIPTION,
GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,
OF THE
VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE TWELFTH.

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THE MODERN TRAVELLER,

&c. &c.

PERSIA.

[A region of Western Asia, lying between lat. 25° and 40° N. and long. 45° and 70° E. Bounded, N. by the Russian empire, the Caspian Sea, and Independent Tatar; E. by the Indus and the mountains of Coosh; S. by the Arabian Sea; W. by Kourdistan, the Shat-el-Arab, and the Persian Gulf.]

THE name of Persia, adopted by modern geographers from the Greeks, originally designated only the southwestern province of that vast region which is now known under this appellation. The ancient Paristan (or country of the Parsees), which the Greeks softened into Persis, still bears the name of Pharsistan or Fars.* This province, which is sometimes distinguished as Persia Proper, is the finest part of the empire, and contains Persepolis and Shiraz, the ancient and one of the modern capitals. The more ancient name of Persia is supposed to have been Elam; but the Elam of the Hebrew Scriptures appears to have bordered upon the basin of the Euphrates, comprising the mountainous regions of Khuzistan and Louristan, from which descended that hardy and warlike race who subsequently extended their conquests southward and eastward over

* The פָּרֶס (paras or peres) of Scripture might be read Pharas or Fars. It is supposed to be derived from a word signifying horseman.—See CALMET.

Susiana and Persis, and the western part of Kerman.* To the north of ancient Persia extends the vast province of *Irak-Adjemi*, or Persian Irak, which nearly corresponds to the ancient Media: near its southern extremity is found the city of Isfahan. The Great Salt Desert separates this province from the ancient Parthia and the districts now included under the modern appellation of Khorasan. The western portion only of this territory is included within the present limits of the Persian empire. To the north-east of Khorasan is the ancient Bactriana, now called Balkh, which is separated by the river Jihon or Oxus from the ancient Sogdiana, or *Maüer-en-nahr* (the country beyond the river), now forming, together with Balkh itself, part of the dominions of the sovereign of Bokhara. To the south of Balkh lies the province of Caubul, which, together with Segistan, Zabulistan, and Beloochistan, forms the modern Afghanistan, or country of the

* In Gen. x. [2, Asshur is joined with Elam. "Elam or Elymais is the original seat of the Persians in the mountains of Loristan, before they extended themselves in Persis and Susiana. Xenophon describes them as originally a nation of mountaineers. Elymais or Elam extended its name with its conquests. The same mountains were possessed by the *Cossæi* in later times, and the Persians are sometimes called *Kussii* or *Kissii* by the Greeks."—VINCENT'S *Nearchus*, vol. ii. p. 554. The original appellation seems to be still preserved in the form of Ardelan, (Ard-Elam?) the name of the province lying between Kourdistan and Irak-Ajem. D'Anville says: "The name of Elymais takes in a great extent in Susiana, being as well applied to the northern and mountainous division, as to the maritime parts, which are flat and moorish. But the former is more agreeable to the situation of the *Elymæi*, who are mentioned as having a prince independent both of the Macedonians of Syria and the Parthians." (vol. ii. p. 50.) Malte Brun, on the contrary, confines the appellation to the maritime tract extending to the mouths of the Euphrates, now in the possession of independent Arabs. The fact appears to be, that the whole of Khooristan, including Susiana, was originally comprehended in Elam. That Shushan was in the province of Elam, is certain.—See Dan. viii. 2.

Afghans, whose dominion has extended itself over a considerable portion of Eastern Persia.

The name by which Persia is known to the natives, is Iran, under which denomination the Mohammedan writers include the whole of the vast region south and west of the Oxus; while that of Touran is applied to the countries beyond the Oxus, the boundary, from time immemorial, of Persia and Scythia.* On the Persepolitan monuments, this word occurs in the form of Eriene, which is evidently identical with the Ariane of the Greeks.† Iran has been supposed to have denoted originally the north-eastern region of Persia, as distinguished from Irak and Persia or Fars. In its modern acceptation, at least, it comprehends, like the word Persia, the whole of the region lying between Arabia and India, Tatary, and the Indian Ocean.

* The Turks and Arabs give the name of Adjem to all Persia.

† D'Anville says: "The country which represents the ancient Ariana, is that which the Persians call Khorasan, because of its relative situation towards the rising sun," (vol. ii. p. 61.) The *Choro-Mithrena* of Ptolemy might seem to be an appellation of the same import as Khorasan, but that district is placed in Media. In the earliest dawn of history, we find the country possessed by several independent nations; the Persians in the south; the Arians in the east; the Medes in the centre; while on the north, were the Hyrcanians, Parthians, Cadusians, and other barbarian hordes. The name of the river Arius is supposed to be still preserved in that of the Heri-roud, which passes by Herat, the most considerable city in Khorasan. After all, it may reasonably be doubted, whether the word Iran has any connexion with that of Aria, although in Eriene there seems some resemblance to it. "The authors of the Universal History," remarks Sir John Malcolm, "on what authority I know not, state, that the word Iran is not a general name of Persia, but of a part of that country. This is certainly erroneous. Iran has, from the most ancient times to the present day, been the term by which the Persians call their country; and it includes, in the sense they understand it, all the provinces to the east of the Tigris; Assyria Proper, Media, Parthia, Persia, and Hyrcania or Mazanderan."—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. i. p. 2. note.

In common with all the countries forming the groupe of Western Asia, Persia is characterized by its numerous and arid mountains, its great extent of deserts, and the general dryness of the region, there being few rivers of any length, and scarcely any which find their way to the ocean. The interior of Persia is a highly elevated country, as is proved by the abundance of snow which rests upon the summits of the mountains, although these are, for the most part, of moderate height. It is, in fact, a country of mountains, not forming any continuous range, but extending in all directions, and seemingly heaped together or piled one upon another without order; the whole resting upon a very elevated base.* This plateau joins that of Armenia and Asia Minor on the west, where, on the southern side of the basin of the river Kour, the chain to which Mount Ararat belongs, embraces the province of Adjerbijan, the ancient Atropatene. From this chain, a belt of high limestone mountains goes off towards the east, making a circuit round the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, and leaving between it and that sea a very fertile plain. These are the Hyrcanian mountains of the ancients, the sides of which towards the sea, are described by Strabo as not only steep, but projecting in such a manner that the rivers throw themselves into the sea, forming a liquid arch, under which men could pass on dry ground. In this range, now known under the name of Elborz or Alpons, is the famous defile called the *Pylæ Caspiæ* or Caspian Gates, now called Kavar, about forty miles to the N.E. of

* Persia may be described as an immense dry, salt plain, traversed by ranges of mountains, either independent or connected with the great frontier chains. The streams descending from these form most beautiful and luxuriant valleys, which are, in fact, the only fertile or populous portions of the country.

the city of Tehraun. It consists of an artificial pass, hewn through the solid rock for nearly 200 yards ; and for 28 miles the road is so narrow as to admit only a single chariot to pass. It was by this road that Alexander pursued Darius into Parthia. Preserving an easterly course, this vast mountain rampart is continued through the northern part of Khorasan, sending out various ramifications southward, till, passing N. of Mushed, and branching out into the highlands of Hazarah, it stretches S. of Balkh, and is lost in the Paropamisan range N. of Caubul.

The Kourdistan range enters Persia to the south of Lake Ourmia, under the name of Elwund ; and its numberless ramifications fill the whole of that part of ancient Media, extending south-eastward to Isfahan. Another chain, known under the name of the mountains of Baktyar or Buktiari, forming a prolongation of the Kourdistan range, stretches from the valley of the Karoon to the plain of Shiraz, at no great distance from the Persian Gulf : then, bending eastward, and running across Kerman, they are supposed to join the chain which separates Segistan from Mekran, the ancient Gedrosia. The latter chain is, finally, connected with the mountains of Sooliman and Wulli, which form the long plateau separating Persia from India.

Of the composition of these various ranges of rock, little is known. They are supposed to consist chiefly of limestone ; an observation which is confirmed by the numerous caverns mentioned by ancient writers. Many of the mountains are among the most sterile and wild in the world, being arid rocks without wood or any herbaceous plants. Mount Ararat and the neighbouring chains appear to contain a large quantity of slate. In Mount Zagrus, and the mountains of Adjerbijan, rocks of sandstone are succeeded by lime-

stone and granite, in the same manner as in the mountains of Europe. The Elborz range seems to consist of carbonate and sulphate of lime in the forms of limestone, marble, and alabaster, with numerous blocks of granite lying in different directions. The reefs which border the coast of Mazanderan, are of granite. The shores of the Caspian are liable to frequent and violent shocks of earthquake; and in the year 1721, the country round Tabriz experienced one of the most dreadful visitations of this kind that are recorded in history. Recent examples of earthquake have occurred also in the southernmost chains of Fars and Laristan. Some of the mountains of Irak are said to be volcanic.*

“My father’s empire,” said the younger Cyrus to Xenophon, “is so large, that people perish with cold at one extremity, while they are suffocated with heat at the other.” This description still applies to Persia, which has three distinct climates. The shores of the Caspian, being about sixty feet below the level of the Ocean, are exposed to burning heats in summer; the winter is mild, and an excessive humidity pervades the atmosphere throughout the year. Steel speedily rusts there, and the sallow complexion of the natives indicates the insalubrity of this region. Vegetation is proportionally vigorous. The sugar-cane is cultivated with success in the rich plains of Ghilan and Mazanderan, while the declivities are covered with the acacia, the linden, the oak, and the chestnut, and the summits are crowned with the cedar, the cypress, and other varieties of the pine.

The central plateau presents the second climate, in which excessively hot and dry summers are succeeded by winters equally rigorous. From March till May,

* Malte Brun, vol. ii. pp. 237, 8.

high winds generally prevail, with frequent hail-storms, which are very prejudicial to the vegetation. From May to September, the atmosphere is serene, and a cloud is scarcely to be seen; dews are unknown, but a refreshing breeze comes on at night. From September to November, high winds again prevail; the air is, however, extremely dry. Snow-storms are frequent in winter, but thunder and lightning are very rare. This general character of the climate is subject to local modifications. The mountains of Kourdistan and Adjerbijan derive, from their greater elevation and their forests, a more humid atmosphere, and enjoy a more equal temperature, although the winters are sometimes exceedingly rigorous. The province of Fars also, especially the valley of Shiraz, is exempt from the extremes of heat and cold, the thermometer, in summer, seldom rising higher than 80° , or sinking at night below 62° . The oriental plane, the willow, the poplar, and the medlar-tree there flourish in luxuriance.

In descending towards the shores of the Persian Gulf, the climate and the face of nature undergo a very material change. "From the mouths of the Indus to those of the Karoon and the Euphrates, the narrow tract of arid and level country which lies between the mountains and the sea, bears a greater resemblance, in soil and climate, to Arabia, than to Persia. Though this tract extends in length a distance of more than twenty degrees, it cannot boast of one river that is navigable above a few miles from the Ocean. The appearance of the coast is almost every where the same,—a succession of sandy plains; in viewing which, the eye is occasionally relieved by large plantations of date-trees, and by patches of cultivation that are found near the wells and fresh-

water rivulets which are thinly scattered over this extensive but barren region." * The extreme heat, during four months of the year, is insupportable ; and the air is so insalubrious, that strangers who fall sick, seldom recover. The samiel or simoom, though not frequent, sometimes desolates the country, and destroys the traveller.

One of the distinctive characters of the central plateau of Persia, is the great extent of deserts or saline plains. There are five principal ones, viz., 1. the desert of Kara-koum (Black Sand), to the north of Khorasan ; 2. the Great Salt Desert,† between Khorasan and Irak-Adjem, 360 miles in length, and 190 in breadth, where the layer of crystallized sea-salt on the surface of the ground is in several places an inch thick ; 3. the desert which forms the northern part of the province of Kerman, the *Caramania Deserta* of the ancients ; 4. the Great Sandy Desert extending from the banks of the Heirmund to the mountains which divide Seistan from the province of Mekran, a distance of nearly 450 miles ; ‡ and 5. the desert of Kiab, on the east of the Tigris, which stretches to the north of Shuster (Susa). Altogether, these deserts are calculated to occupy three-tenths of the country. They form part of that remarkable chain of sandy plateaus, which extend from the vast desert of Kobi or Shamo on the north of China,§ across the whole of

* Malcolm's Persia, vol. I. p. 2.

† The Great Salt Desert joins that of Kerman, and these two stretch over an extent of nearly 140,000 square miles.

‡ Sir John Malcolm says, about 400 miles. " Its breadth, from Noosky, a village in Sarawan (a district in Mekran), to Jalk in upper or northern Mekran, is nearly 200 miles."

§ " The word *Gobi*, of which Europeans have made, by corruption, *Cobi*, signifies, in the Mungal tongue, a naked desert. It is equivalent to the *Sha-mo* or *Hhan-hai* of the Chinese. A *steppe*,

Asia, communicating, with little intermission, through Beloochistan, Gedrosia, and Nedjed, with "the great ocean of sand" in Arabia. To the scorching effect of the winds that have passed over these deserts, is attributable the dry and burning climate of the Persian coast, Arabia, and the basin of the Red Sea.

The Persian deserts, so similar in other respects to those of Africa, present also the same description of salt lakes, but of larger size. That of Zerah or Durra, the *Aria Palus* of the ancients, covers an extent of nearly 1100 square miles, and receives the river Heir-mend or Helmund, after a course of 400 miles, besides several smaller streams. The great salt lake of Ourmia or Shahee, in Adjerbijan, is about 47 miles long, and half as broad, being about 280 miles in circumference. It receives fourteen rivers of different sizes, yet without any apparent increase of its waters; and its greatest depth does not exceed five or six feet; in some places, scarcely one foot. A range of high mountains, the *Niphates* of the ancients, separates the basin of this lake from that of the Lake Van, which lies to the westward. This lake is very saline, and yields, on evaporation, one-third more of a bitter salt than can be obtained from the waters of the sea. When the rivers which feed it are much swollen, it sometimes rises 30 feet; and from the strata of shells found on the south and north, it appears to have extended further in those directions. Lake Erivan,

or plain covered with herbs, is, in Mungal, *kudah*; in Chinese, *houang*." The Arabic for steppe is *tanufah*, in contradistinction from the words denoting a sandy or naked desert and a plain.—See HUMBOLDT'S *Pers. Narr.* vol. iv. pp. 295, 315. The sandy plains of Mongolia, Persia, and Arabia, are, like the Zahara of Africa, "real deserts," that is, destitute of vegetation, and quite distinct from the steppes of Asia, which, though bare of trees, are covered with grasses.

about 100 miles to the north of it, is about 70 miles in circumference. Near Shiraz is the salt lake Baktegan, which receives the Bendemir and the Kuren. The western side of the great plateau of Tatory is, in like manner, covered with salt lakes having no outlet. The Caspian Sea, which is, in fact, a lake of this description, and the largest in the world, covers an extent of 120,000 square miles. The Sea of Aral, or Lake of Khowaresm, which receives the Jihoon (or Oxus) and the Jaxartes, covers 9600 square miles. Lakes without outlets are thus common throughout central and western Asia.

Owing to the same physical cause, the peculiar configuration of the country, the rivers of Persia are few, and, with one or two exceptions, inconsiderable, depending chiefly upon the mountain torrents; one day overflowing their banks, and the next, sinking to mere rivulets. The Tigris and the Euphrates cannot properly be considered as Persian rivers; nor can we now rank among them the Kour or Cyrus, which once formed the northern boundary towards Georgia, or the Jihoon, which divides Persia from Tatory. The Aras, the ancient Araxes, is the first considerable stream flowing from the west: it rises in the recesses of Caucasus, and, after a long and rapid course, joins the Kour, which then becomes navigable to its mouth in the Caspian. The Kizil-ozen or Sefyd-rood, the ancient Mardus, has also its source in the western mountains: it has a very winding course, flowing through picturesque ravines, and forming a series of cataracts, and at length runs into the Caspian with so much force that the current is perceptible to a considerable distance. The Zeindeh-rood, which rises in the Baktyar mountains, flows by Isfahan, and loses itself in the deserts to the S.E. The waters of this

river are at times so swollen by the melting of the snows and the rains, as to overflow their banks to a great extent. The Bendemir flows from N. to S. between Shiraz and Persepolis, and falls into Lake Baktegan. Of those which join the Shat-el-Arab, the principal is the Kerrah or Hawizza, formed by the Kermanshah river and another smaller stream. This is supposed to be the Choaspes of Herodotus. After flowing by the ruins of Susa, it bends to the west, and contributes to swell the united waters of the Tigris and Euphrates. The centre of Susiana is traversed by the Abzal or Desfoul river, supposed to be the Eulæus, the Ulaï of Daniel: after being joined by the Karoon from the Baktyar mountains, it takes that name, and at length discharges itself by many mouths into the Persian Gulf. The river Zab (the ancient Oroates), which separates Susiana from Persis, after flowing for some time towards the W., bends southward to reach the Gulf. This river is navigable for boats as far as Endian, distant sixteen miles from the sea. The largest river of Khorasan, the Sedzen or Ochus, after receiving several small streams from the mountains of Mazanderan, forms a marshy lake, and at length reaches the Gulf of Balkan in the Caspian. The Heirmund or Helmund, the Etymander of the ancients, which takes its rise in the mountains of Hazarah to the north of Caubul, flows through Seistan, part of which arid province is fertilized by its streams, and empties itself into the Lake of Zerah. The other inland rivers are, for the most part, like those of Arabia, lost in the deserts, or terminate in salt lagoons.

The elevated plains of central Persia are entirely destitute of trees, being, for the most part, covered with plants which affect a saline soil; but some of

the plains, not yet inundated with sand, still present fertile pastures. The soil is generally a hard clay, which without irrigation is totally unproductive : wherever water can be obtained, however, the vegetation is most luxuriant. Canals are very common in some of the provinces, but, in the frequent civil wars by which Persia has been desolated, these canals have often been destroyed, and a verdant valley has thus been suddenly transformed into a barren waste. Owing in part to the unsettled state of the government, and in part to the oppressive imposts, many fertile districts have been abandoned, and the nomade tribes now lead their flocks over immense tracts once covered with grain.* In the northern provinces, the soil is more fertile, consisting in some places of a fine brown mould, and cultivation is more general. Scarcely a twentieth part of the land, however, is under cultivation. The consequences of drought in this country are dreadful, the failure of the rains being followed by a general famine. Wheat is the chief produce ; barley, millet, and oats, are also grown ; and rice, the favourite food of the Persians, is cultivated with extreme care in the province of Mazanderan. The gardens of Persia are highly celebrated, and few countries surpass it in the variety and flavour of the fruits. The most esteemed fruits of Europe, such as the fig, the pomegranate, the mulberry, the almond, the

* Khorasan, in particular, which was formerly covered with populous and flourishing cities, and the seat of an extensive trade, is described by Mr. Kinneir as almost entirely laid waste by the continual inroads of the barbarous chiefs who occupy its borders. The southern province of Khouzistan, the best watered part of the empire, is now scarcely distinguishable from the bordering deserts. In the Caspian provinces, which surpass all the others in fertility, the oppression to which the inhabitants are subject, is said to be such as to induce them to long to be united to Russia.

peach, and the apricot, are believed to have been originally brought from Persia. The orange and the lemon are also indigenous, and attain an uncommon size. Khorasan is famous for its melons, of which there are twenty species; the quinces of Isfahan are esteemed the finest in the east; and the vines of Shiraz, Yezd, and Isfahan, are respectively distinguished by their peculiar excellence. The country also produces hemp, tobacco, opium, sesamum, rhubarb, manna, saffron, cotton, turpentine, mastic, various gums, and gall-nuts. The silk-worm is extensively cultivated, and the annual produce is estimated at 20,000 bales of 216 lb. each; the greater part of which is exported to Turkey, India, and Russia.

The horses of Persia are esteemed the finest and handsomest in the East, although in fleetness inferior to the Arabian. They are of different breeds. The Persian soldiers prefer the Turcoman breed, which attain a great size, and possess extraordinary powers of sustaining fatigue: they have been known to perform a journey of 900 miles in eleven successive days.* The camels of Khorasan are not inferior to those of Arabia. Mules, however, are in more general use, and rank in estimation next to the horse, their breed being an object of particular attention. An excellent breed of the ass has been introduced from Arabia. The wild ass is an object of chase, and its flesh is esteemed a delicacy.† The horned cattle are similar to those of Europe. Cows and oxen are kept chiefly

* Upon one of these animals, Kherim Khan is said to have travelled 332 miles in 58 hours.

† It was in hunting this animal, that Baharam the Fifth, surnamed the Gour, perished in the Vale of Oujon, being swallowed up by a marshy pool. Sir R. K. Porter thus describes one which he saw, and in vain endeavoured to overtake. "He appeared to

for the purposes of agriculture and for the supply of the dairy, beef being the food only of the lower classes. Numerous flocks of goats and sheep cover the plains, constituting the wealth of the wandering tribes. The Persian sheep is distinguished by its enormous flat and heart-shaped tail, which often weighs 30 lbs.: this appendage is formed of fat, and furnishes a good dish. The antelope, the hare, the zebra, the fox, and various species of deer,* afford ample amusement to the sportsman. The Persian boar is distinguished by its ferocity. The bear, the lion, and the smaller kind of tiger lurk in the forests and mountains, and the hyena and jackal are found in the provinces of the south. The Caspian cat (*felis chaus*) inhabits the forests bordering upon the Caspian Sea; and there is a distinct species of squirrel peculiar to this country. The tame and wild fowl are much the same as those of Europe. The pigeon and the partridge abound, but the inhabitants have to dispute possession of them with the eagle, the vulture, and the falcon.

Notwithstanding the mountainous character of

me about ten or twelve hands high; the skin smooth, like a deer's, and of a reddish colour; the belly and hinder parts partaking of a silvery grey; his neck was finer than that of a common ass, being longer and bending like a stag's, and his legs beautifully slender: the head and ears seemed large in proportion, and by them I first recognised that the object of my chase was of the ass tribe. The mane was short and black, as was also a tuft which terminated his tail. No line whatever ran along his back, or crossed his shoulders, as is seen on the tame species with us. The prodigious swiftness and peculiar manner with which he fled across the plain, coincided exactly with the description that Xenophon gives of the same animal in Arabia; but, above all, it reminded me of the striking portrait drawn by the author of the book of Job (ch. xxxix. 5—8.)"—PORTER'S *Trav. in Georgia*, &c. vol. i. pp. 459, 60.

* Among the varieties of the deer species is found the pygarg (*cervus pygargus*) or dishon of the Scriptures; called in Persia, the *aha*.

Persia, its mineral productions, so far as known, are not of peculiar value. Salt is, unfortunately, the substance which occurs most plentifully: the ground is every where more or less impregnated with it, and it is thus too common to be an article of trade. A sufficient quantity of copper is drawn from the mountains of Mazanderan and Kerman, to render this metal an article of exportation. In Adjerbijan, there are mines of iron and silver, but the expense of working them has hitherto exceeded the produce, owing, probably, to bad management. The finest silver mine in Western Asia is in Bokhara. Sulphur and nitre are found in the mountain of Demawend. The turquoise, a gem peculiar to Persia, is found in the mountains of Khorasan: the best are obtained from a mine near Nishapore. The northern mountains produce varieties of valuable marble. One of the most useful mineral productions of Persia is the naphtha or bitumen, of which there are two kinds, the white and the black. Of the latter, there are several fountains in Irak Arabi; but the most productive are near Kerkook. It is employed by the natives as a substitute for pitch, and is also used in lamps, instead of oil. The white naphtha (which is suspected, however, to be altogether a different substance) is found floating like a crust on the surface of the water: it is of a much thicker consistence, resembling tallow rather than pitch, and affords a better light, as well as emits a less disagreeable odour, than the black naphtha. Two fountains of this kind rise near Doulakee in Fars; but the most remarkable are found near Bakou, on the western shore of the Caspian. ^f A liquid black petroleum, of an agreeable odour, flows in small quantity from a mountain in Kerman: this is a royal monopoly, and the mines are carefully sealed and

guarded. Medicinal springs of various descriptions are numerous, but are entirely neglected by the inhabitants. One spring, not far from Maragha, has the most extraordinary petrifying qualities, perhaps, of any in the world: it produces the beautiful transparent stone, commonly called Tabriz marble, which admits of being cut into immense slabs, and takes a good polish, forming a principal ornament in all the buildings of note throughout the country.

Persia must be considered as a country hitherto very imperfectly known, and but partially explored. Indeed, both its physical and its political aspects oppose peculiar obstacles to its being thoroughly investigated. Here are no navigable rivers intersecting the country, and laying open the bosom of its rocks,—no Nile winding its course of wonder and beauty amid the desert,—to transport the traveller without danger or weariness through these burning regions. The roads, such as they are, will not admit of wheel-carriages; the only mode of conveyance and intercourse, therefore, is supplied by the horse, the camel, and the mule. And this is sufficiently precarious. The fiery or piercing climate, the burning plains and snowy summits, the frightful passes infested by numerous hordes of banditti, the want of water, and the difficulty of procuring provisions of any kind, render Persia one of the last countries in which a traveller can afford, or feels disposed to linger,—unless it be in those rare and romantic spots in which nature seems to realize the creations of oriental fable, and to call up an Eden in the midst of the blighted waste. “No man,” remarks a recent Traveller, “can enter Persia without remembering, that he is about to tread a land which a long line of native princes covered with cities, and towns, and fertility; a country which even its Grecian con-

querors embellished with the noblest structures, and Roman invaders adorned with bridges, aqueducts, and castles. But, of all these towns, villages, and structures, the work of so many different ages and generations of men, few remain of any kind that are not sunk in ruin, or furrowed with decay. What once were cities, and hamlets, and cultivated fields, are now vast solitudes without house, or hut, or tree, or blade of grass, for many, many miles. Indeed, so frequent are these monotonous tracts, dreary to the eye and dismal to the heart, that the glimpse of a mouldering wall, round some long-abandoned village, seen from afar, or the broken massive arches of a lonely caravanserai, surrendered to the wild animals of the waste,—being memorials that human footsteps once were there, are welcome sights to the weary traveller.” *

Still, Persia, unattractive and inhospitable as it may be to the traveller, is the favourite country of the imagination, and, in many respects, one of the most interesting regions in the world. Its early history is lost in fable, but its situation would seem to favour its claims to be considered as the fountain-head of population to the post-diluvian world, the centre from which the various families of man diverged,—the Scythian, the Arab, and the Ethiop, towards the north and east, the north-west, and the south-west. Waiving, however, this recondite subject of inquiry, Persia, the mistress at one time of the eastern world, the subverter of Babylon and Egypt, the restorer of Jerusalem, the invader at first, and then the victim of Greece, and at a later period the haughty and unconquered antagonist of Rome,—the

* Sir R. K. Porter's Travels, vol. ii. p. 68.

theatre upon which have been transacted some of the most remarkable revolutions in history, the cradle and the grave of the mightiest empires, cannot but excite, in the highest degree, a liberal and enlightened curiosity. Even those features of the country which affect the traveller with terror or melancholy, combine with the historic associations, the pomp of oriental costume, and the illusions of romance, to give peculiar interest to the description of Persian scenery and Persian manners. In this country, the cities are few; but then they all are, or have been, capitals. With the single but magnificent exception of Persepolis, its monuments are rarely of high antiquity or peculiar interest: it can boast of no excavations like those of Egypt, Ethiopia, and India, no pyramids like those of Memphis, no temples like those of Greece. But, on the other hand, its living manners and customs are perhaps the most ancient, form the most unchanged representation of antiquity, that is any where to be seen. The Persian monarchy, though "shorn of its beams," crippled and despoiled, is still, in outward shew and circumstance, what it was in the days of Cyrus, and Darius, and Shah Abbas. The modern Persians, too, are, for the most part, what the ancient Persians are described to have been, both in their customs and their general character. The pastoral tribes and mountain hordes are much the same as when Alexander conquered or Xenophon wrote. Thus, while, in Egypt, the intrusive Turk or Mamlouk, the degraded Copt or miserable fellah, excite comparatively no interest, but are dwarfed by the gigantic monuments of remote ages, and hardly appear to belong to the scene where art and nature seem alike eternal, and man is nothing,—in Persia, it is the living scene, with all its faded yet imposing

pageantry, the various tribes and the diversified traits of human character, that chiefly occupy attention; and by these faithful transcripts of former ages it is, that the imagination is transported far back into the past.

A rapid outline of the leading revolutions in Persian history is all that can be attempted, as an introduction to the topographical description. Previously to this, however, it may be acceptable to our readers, to have the following table of the ancient and modern divisions of the country.

KINGDOM OF WESTERN PERSIA.

<i>Mod. Provinces.</i>	<i>Ancient Provinces.</i>	<i>Chief Towns.</i>
Adjerbijan.*	Media Atropatene.	{ Tabriz (Tauris). Ma- ragha. Ardabile.
Ghilan.	{ Country of the <i>Gelæ</i> , or <i>Cadusii</i> .	{ Reshd.
Mazanderan.	{ Country of the <i>Tapyri</i> ,† and part of Hyrcania.	{ Balfroosh. Saree. Ash- rouf.
Astrabad.‡	Hyrcania Propria.	Astrabad.

* Sometimes written Adzerbijan and Azerbijan; "the Adjerdjan of the Zenda Vesta, signifying the Country of Fire."

† The hilly part of western Mazanderan is still called Taberistan, derived from a word signifying a wooded mountain.

‡ In Malte Brun, this district is called Djor-djan; and D'Anville remarks, that "the actually existent capital of this country, being *Jorjan* according to our pronunciation, is more correctly *Corcan*, in which we may perceive what, according to the orthography of the ancient writers, is Hurcan or Hyrcania." This permutation of the soft *g* or *j*, and the *gh* or *k*, is very common. In some maps, however, the name of this district is written *Korgan*; and in Arrowsmith's map, prefixed to Fraser's Khorasan, the name of the town, and of the river on which it stands, is written *Gourgaun*; while the district is called, from the chief town, Astrabad. In the latter word, D'Anville supposes that we have a trace of the ancient Sideris; Ester-abad being the city Ester; and "in the oriental phraseology, Sider and Ester are confounded."—D'ANVILLE, vol. ii. p. 66. The river Gourgaun or Khurkan appears to divide Hyrcania propria, or Astrabad, from Dahistan, which Malte Brun erroneously places between Taberistan and Djorjan, making Ashraf and Amöl, which are to the west of Astrabad, its chief

<i>Mod. Provinces.</i>	<i>Ancient Provinces.</i>	<i>Chief Towns.</i>
Irak-Adjemi.	Media Ragelana.	Rhey. Kasbin.
	Media Magna.	Tehraun. Hamadan.
	Parthia.	Kom. Kashan. Isfahan.
Ardelan, or Persian Kourdistan.	Elam or Elymais.	Senneh. Kermanshah.
Looristan.	Country of the <i>Cossæi</i> and <i>Uxii</i> , or Syro-Media.	..
Khouzistan.	Susiana Propria.	Shooster. Desfoul.
Farsistan.	Persis.	Shiraz. Ferouzabad.
Laristan.	Mesambria, or Southern Coast.	Lar. Gomberoon.*.
Kerman.	Carmania.	Kerman.
Part of Khorasan.	Parthyene.†	Nishapoor. Mushed.
	Aria.	Yezd.‡

towns. The country of the *Dahæ* appears to have extended along the eastern coast of the Caspian to the Gulf of Balkan, in which the name of the ancient *Barcanii* is still preserved.

* Or Bender Abbas; a port situated opposite to the island of Ormuz or Hormooz, which was formerly the emporium of the Persian Gulf. Hormooz, the ancient Harmuzia, was a province in the middle ages. The island of Ormuz, once so celebrated, is a bare rock, covered with red and white salt stones, without any water fit for use, and almost bare of vegetation. Yet, commerce formerly made this desert isle a storehouse for the treasures of the East. The Portuguese got possession of it in 1514, and it continued one of the chief seats of their power, till, in 1614, Shah Abbas, assisted by an English squadron, drove them out. It was long totally neglected, but has lately attracted the attention of the English. The largest and most fertile island of the Persian Gulf, is Kismis or Kishmis, the Broct or Vroct of the Portuguese, and the ancient *Oaracta*. It is to the S.W. of Ormuz, and is separated from the continent only by a narrow channel.

† The canton which originally bore the name of Parthiene, had for its capital Nisæa or Parthaunisa, situated beyond the hills of Sahar (the Sariphi of Ptolemy), near the commencement of vast plains well adapted for the Parthian nomades. "This canton, under the kings of Persia and the Syro-Macedonian kings, was subordinate to Hyrcania, and of little consideration. But the conquests of the Parthians extended the name of Parthia to that part of Media situated beyond the Caspian Gates."—D'ANVILLE, vol. ii. p. 68. Nisæa appears to retain its ancient name in the form of Nissa, a considerable ruined town in the strip of rich country called the *Attock* (the skirts, *i. e.* of the hills), or *Dameen-e-Koh*, now in the possession of the Turcoman hordes, who have desolated the whole country. The name of Apavaretica, an ancient

KINGDOM OF CAUBUL, OR EASTERN PERSIA.

<i>Mod. Provinces.</i>	<i>Ancient Provinces.</i>	<i>Chief Towns.</i>
Part of Khorasan.	{ Aria.	{ Herat. Merve.*
	{ Margiana.	
Afghanistan.	{ Country of the Paro-	{ Caubul. Candahar.
	<i>pamisadæ.</i>	{ Ghiznee. Furrah.
Seistan.	{ Sacastiana?	{ Jellallabad. Dergasp.
	{ Drangiane.†	{ Dooshak. Naswarabad.

INDEPENDENT.

Beloochistan.	{ Gedrosia.‡	{ Gul. Punjgoor. Tize.
Mekran.		{ Kussurkurd. Pureg. Kedge or Kij.

district, is still preserved in the ruined town of Abaverd, to the N.W. of Nissa, in the same canton.—See FRASER'S *Khorasan*, p. 245. The river which waters this district, the Ochus of antiquity, flowed into the Caspian. It was thence, according to D'Anville, that the ancestor of the Ottoman family departed for the banks of the Euphrates. The Ochus is supposed to be the Sedzen. The Nysean plain, so celebrated for its breed of horses, was probably in the Attock.

‡ Yezd is now a separate government. It is sometimes included in Kerman, but appears, from its natural position, Colonel Fraser remarks, to form a part of Khorasan. This province would appear, however, to comprehend part of the ancient Carmania.

* “ Merve Shah Jehan, although once a royal city and capital of the country, situated as it is in the midst of a great desert, equally unconnected with this or any other of the surrounding states, however it may once have been attached to, can hardly be included in Khorasan. Herat, so long its capital city, can never be disjoined from that country in a geographical description of it, however it may be dismembered from it by political circumstances, as has, for a long time past, been the case.”—FRASER'S *Khorasan*, p. 243. Merve or Merou (Antiochia) is situated in the fertile vale of the Marg-ab (*Margus*), the ancient Margiana, which lay E. of Parthiene, N. of Aria, and W. of Bactriana.

† D'Anville supposes the name Segestan, commonly written Seistan and Seghistan, to be formed from Sacastiana, the country of the *Sacæ*, “ which the enumeration of the Parthian provinces places between the Drangiane and Arachosia.” Malte Brun makes Seistan to include Drangiane; and Arachosia or Ar-rhokhadje, he supposes to be a part of Sabulistan in Caubul. Sir John Malcolm says that Seistan is also called Zabulistan, “ the ancient name of the province.” The ancient geography of these parts is involved in much perplexity and uncertainty.

‡ The maritime part of Mekran is the country of the *Ichthyo-*

HISTORY OF PERSIA.

SIR JOHN MALCOLM opens his elaborate and interesting history of Persia with the remark, that "if we desire to be fully informed of a nation's history, we must not reject the fables under which the few traces of its origin are concealed." The Persians are possessed of literary monuments, which, though they have small pretensions to the character of genuine and authentic history, are of the highest value, as embodying the national traditions, the only way-marks by which we can sometimes guide our course in the pathless region of historical conjecture.

According to all Mohammedan writers, except the Author of the *Dabistan*, the first monarch of Persia was Kaiomurs, the son of Yessan-Ajum, and grandson of Noah, the founder of the Paishdadian dynasty. This monarch is stated to have reclaimed his subjects from a state of utter barbarism. He was for a long time engaged in a war with the *deevs* or magicians, whom he at length overcame by aid of all the lions, panthers, and tigers in his dominions: after this singular victory, he retired to his capital of Balkh, where he died, and was succeeded by his son Hooshung. These formidable enemies appear, however, to have been subdued only for a time; for

phagi, where the army of Alexander were reduced to such extremities in their attempt to return from India. The Imaum of Muskat has here a sort of ascendancy. The more northerly and easterly parts of Gedrosia are mountainous, and are inhabited by the Belooches and other savage tribes, nominally subject to the king of Caubul, whose dominions extend at present, according to Mr. Elphinstone, from the west of Herat, in long. 62° E., to the eastern boundary of Cashmeer in long. 77° E., and from the mouth of the Indus, in lat. 24° N., to the upper part of the Oxus, in lat. 37° N.

Tahamurs, the son of Hooshung, was surnamed *Deevbund*, the magician-binder, on account of the success with which he prosecuted the war against these deevs, aided by the supernatural wisdom of his vizier Sherasp. A number of them who were taken prisoners, redeemed their lives from Tahamurs, by teaching that monarch to read and write. His successor and nephew is said to have been the famous Jemsheed, the reputed founder of Persepolis, to whom the Persians ascribe the introduction of the solar year, the institution of the festival of *nouroze*, the division of the people into four classes, and many other important reforms. The early part of his reign was highly prosperous; but, towards the close, his impious ambition disgusted his subjects, and his crimes were punished by the loss of his dominions, which were invaded by the Assyrian tyrant Zohauk. The unfortunate Jemsheed fled before the conqueror, by whose agents he was pursued through Seistan, India, and China; and the wanderings of the exiled monarch form one of the most popular subjects of Persian romance. He was at length taken, and sawn asunder. The name of the monster Zohauk, whom the Persian writers represent to have had two snakes growing from his shoulders, is still held in execration. He reigned for a thousand years, and was at length slain in an insurrection occasioned by his cruelty, by Kâwah, a blacksmith of Isfahan; on which Feridoon, a prince of the Paishdadian dynasty, descended from Tahamurs, was raised to the throne. The blacksmith's apron, richly ornamented with jewels, continued to be the royal standard of Persia, under the name of the *Derufsh-e-Kawanee* (the standard of Kâwah), till the Mohammedan conquest.

The virtuous Feridoon had three sons, Selm, Toor,

and Erij, among whom, in his old age, he determined to divide his wide dominions. The elder two were by one mother, the daughter of Zohauk; the latter, by a princess of Iran. To Selm were assigned the western provinces, subsequently called Roum; to Toor, Tatory and part of China; and to Erij, Persia. This arrangement, which allotted the fairest of lands and the seat of royalty to the younger son, gave umbrage to the brothers, and they resolved to slay him. The Persian historian states, that they had the barbarity to embalm his head, and send it to the aged Feridoon, who, seized with frantic grief at the sight, called upon heaven to raise up an avenger of the unnatural fratricide. The daughter of Erij was married to Pushung, the nephew of Feridoon; and their son, Manucheher, now became the cherished hope of the aged monarch. On his attaining manhood, the young prince made war upon his uncles, Selm and Toor, slew them both of course, and, on his triumphant return, received from his aged grandfather the crown of the empire. From the name of this prince, many Persian historians derive the name of Eeran or Iran,* while Toor is supposed to have given his name to Touran. The authenticity of the whole story may be judged of from the crowning statement, that Feridoon reigned 500 years. He is said to have been the first monarch who ever rode upon an elephant, or brought those animals into use in war.

To Manucheher, supposed to be the Mandaces of the Greeks, is assigned a reign of 120 years. His son Nouzer succeeded him; but, in the seventh year of his reign, his dominions were invaded by Afrasiab,

* Sir John Malcolm was informed, by "an excellent Pehlivi scholar," that Eeran is the plural of Eir, and means the country of believers.

son of Pushung, King of Touran, who overthrew and slew him. Persia remained subject to Touran, till the time of Kai Kobad, the founder of the Kaianian dynasty, in whose reign the famous Roustum, the Cid of Persian history, defeated the dreaded Afrasiab, and drove him beyond the Oxus, which remained the boundary between the two kingdoms. This peace was not, however, of long duration. In the reign of Kai Kaoos, supposed to be the Cyaxares of the Greeks, the Tatars repeatedly crossed the Oxus, and in the conflicts which ensued, Roustum as often delivered his country from the invaders. But it was not till the reign of Kai Khosroo (Cyrus), the grandson and successor of Kai Kaoos, that Afrasiab was finally defeated and slain, and the cities of Samarkand and Bokhara were added to the Persian empire. Supposing this monarch to be Cyrus the Great, this would bring down the history of Persia to about 560 years before Christ.

In attempting to reduce this confused tissue of fact and fable to any thing like consistent narrative, it will be necessary, in the first place, to recollect, that no such extended and consolidated empire as the Persian is represented to have been, could have existed in those early times, much less have been transmitted in regular succession. The ancient kingdoms consisted, for the most part, of little more than a capital and its territory, as in the instances of Babylon, Nineveh, Troy, and Memphis. Between neighbouring monarchs, there soon arose contests for the supremacy; and the most powerful sovereign became the acknowledged head of the confederacy, under the title of king of kings. This supremacy was generally acknowledged by a tribute, the withholding of which was the signal of rebellion. Still,

these tributary monarchs were, in their own dominions, absolute sovereigns, equal among themselves, and having the power, of which they not unfrequently availed themselves, to transfer their allegiance, as policy might dictate, to any more powerful emperor. Something like this state of society still exists among the Indo-Chinese nations; * and the more distant beylerbeyliks of the Turkish empire are, in fact, petty monarchies, held together by no other tie than an annual tribute and a nominal allegiance to the ecclesiastical head of Islam. The empire of Germany was of a similar description.

At near the commencement of authentic history, we find mention made of a Persian emperor, whose hereditary dominions were situated in Elam, answering to the modern Kourdistan and Khouzistan, but whose supremacy extended over part of Syria and Arabia. His contemporaries and allies were the kings of Shinar (Babylonia), Ellasar (or Alsur), and Goim.† The time at which they reigned was about 1900 years before Christ, between one and two hundred years after the supposed era of Ninus, the founder of the Assyrian empire,‡ and 430 years after the Deluge,

* See Mod. Trav., Birmah, &c.

† See Gen. xiv. 1. The situation of Alsur is uncertain, but is supposed to be Syria; and the country of Goim, (translated “nations” in the authorised version,) has been thought to be “Galilee of the nations.” It is remarkable, that the name of Chedorla-omer has nearly the same termination as Kai-omurs and Tah-amurs, the first and third monarchs of Persian history.

‡ “An ancient chronologist, quoted by Velleius Paterculus, observes, that the Assyrians, the Medes, the Persians, and the Macedonians reigned over Asia 1995 years, from the accession of Ninus to the defeat of Antiochus by the Romans. As the latter of these great events happened 289 years B.C., the former may be placed 2184 years before the same era. The Astronomical Obser-

according to the received computation. At this period, the Egyptian Thebes had long been the seat of a powerful monarchy ; and that city is supposed to have been indebted for its consequence and wealth to the commerce with India and Arabia. Those countries, therefore, must have been colonized ; and, in fact, the banks of the Indus and the coasts of the Southern ocean, appear to have been, from the earliest period, occupied by both Semitic and Chamitic tribes. What is now called Persia, seems to have been, in all ages, a debateable ground, on which the different families of man have fought for the ascendancy. The conflicting currents of population, in perpetual flux and reflux, have here met and produced, if we may be allowed the figure, constant eddies and whirlpools. From the nature of the country, the mountains of Elam, the fervid coasts of the Persian Gulf, the vast plains of Eastern Persia, and the fertile banks of the Helmund and the Indus, would be occupied by tribes of different habits and character ; and accordingly, it is pretty clear, that these territories were the seats of various independent and contemporary monarchies.

The capital of Kai Omurs, the founder of the Paishdadian race, is said to have been Bulkh or Balkh, the ancient Bactra, a city of the highest antiquity : all the Asiatics, we are told, are impressed with an idea of its being the oldest in the world, distinguishing it by the title of *Om-ul Belâd*, the mother of towns.* This city could never, however, be the capital of Persia in any other sense than as being the residence of the most powerful monarch of the time ; and there is reason to question whether Western

vations found at Babylon by Alexander, went fifty years higher."—GIBBON, c. 8, *note*.

* Elphinstone's Caubul, vol. ii. p. 220.

Persia was ever subject, at that early period, to the Bactrian kings. It is observable, that the scene of contest in the reigns of the Kaianian dynasty, is always in the neighbourhood of the Oxus. Roustum, the favourite hero of Ferdousi, was the grandson of a king of Caubul; and the story of his career, which is extended through a period of 400 years, closes with his having Caubul, Zabulistan, and Seistan made over to him by Kai Khosrou, as hereditary possessions. Those countries, the Bactrian sovereign had it not in his power to confer: they were the country of the mighty Roustum himself.*

Jemsheed, the founder of Persepolis, who is represented as the fourth from Kai Omurs, was no doubt the monarch of a totally distinct territory, as well as of a different dynasty; and his name appears to stand as the representative of the line of Persepolitan monarchs which preceded the Assyrian conquest. His reign, according to Ferdousi, lasted 700 years, and Roustum is said to have been his descendant. It is

* "The nominal chief of all Seestaun is Mullik Behraun Kyaunee, who is descended (or reputed to be descended) from the ancient house of Ky (Kai) which reigned long over Persia, produced Cyrus and other great monarchs, and terminated in the death of Darius and the subversion of his empire by the Greeks. Mullik Behraun is very sensible of the glory of so illustrious a descent; he still assumes the title of king, and maintains, on a small scale, the state and forms of royalty; but his authority is recognised only in a small part of Seestaun....The Persians, *as usual*, pretend that he is subject to their king."—ELPHINSTONE'S *Caubul*, vol. ii. pp. 266, 7. The ruins which surround Jellallabad, the capital, for a vast extent, bear witness to its former grandeur. "Though the history of Roustum and his family is enveloped in fable, there are some facts," Sir John Malcolm remarks, "that seem undoubted. First, that they were the hereditary chiefs or princes of Seistan; secondly, that they were connected with the royal family of Cabul, as well as that of Persia....They boasted a direct descent from Jemsheed."

not improbable, that the king of Persepolis retreated before the Assyrian conqueror into Seistan, and that, during the period that Fars remained subject to the Assyrians, a Persian dynasty maintained itself on the banks of the Helmund.

Who Zohauk really was, is quite uncertain. Some have taken him for the Nimrod of Scripture, but without any sufficient reason. He is stated to have been descended from Shedad, a prince of Syria; and other writers term him an Arabian. These accounts are easily reconciled, and they fall in with the Arabian traditions. One of the most famous monarchs of Arabian fable is Shedad, the son of Aad, who built a magnificent palace with delicious gardens, called the paradise of Irem. This Shedad was descended from Aram; that is to say, he was of Aramean or Syrian origin; and certain chiefs of this race, according to the Arabian historians, afterwards rose to great power in Irak. Hareth ul Rayesh, the twenty-first Arabian monarch of the Hamyarite dynasty, is stated to have extended his authority to the shores of India, and to have pushed his conquests into Irak (Babylonia), and even Adjerbijan. Yet he acknowledged, it is added, the paramount authority of the Persian monarch Manutcheher, with whom he was contemporary, and whose power is represented as extending to the remotest limits of the west.*

Both the Scripture writers and the Greek historians distinguish the kingdom of the Medes from that of the Persians; while Eastern authors speak only of Eeran or Iran, by which we must understand, in reference to this period, the kingdoms of Balkh and Seistan. While their monarchs were engaged in perpetual contests with the kings of Touran in the east, in Western Persia

* Mod. Trav., Arabia, p. 24.

the grand contest was between the Assyrians and the Mèdes. Feridoon, Sir John Malcolm supposes to have been the same as Arbaces (or Varbaces) the Mede, who attacked Sardanapalus in Nineveh, his capital, about 820 B.C. No fact in all the ancient history of Persia, he remarks, is better attested than the revolt of Kâwah, who placed Feridoon on the throne. "The gratitude that converted his apron into the standard of the empire, and the sacred respect in which it was held for centuries, are proofs of the character of that service, the memory of which was perpetuated by so great a distinction; while the actual capture of the *Durufsh-e-Kawaneh* by the general of the Caliph Omar, in the fourteenth year of the Hejira, must satisfy the most sceptical of the truth of this early part of Persian history." The identity of Feridoon and Arbaces, of Zohauk and Sardanapalus, is more questionable. The protracted reign of 500 years ascribed to Feridoon, and that of 120 years assigned to his successor, would lead us to suppose, that their names cover a chasm in the Persian annals which would require to be filled up by a Median dynasty.

For many centuries, the contest for ascendancy appears to have been maintained between the neighbouring powers of Media and Assyria. The latter empire was still at its height, in the time of Hezekiah, about 710 B.C., at which time it had extended itself over all the petty sovereignties of Mesopotamia and Syria, reaching, on the one hand, to Carchemish on the Euphrates, and on the other, to Gozan, which Benjamin of Tudela places in Media.* In fact, the

* The kings of Syria and Israel must have been subdued by the king of Assyria between 758 and 710 B.C. Compare Isa. vii. 1-8, xxxvi. 19; 2 Kings xv. 29, and xvii. 6.

sacred records expressly state, that the Israelitish captives carried away in the reign of Hoshea, were placed by the Assyrian conqueror in the cities of the Medes.* But, upon the overthrow of Sennacherib's army before Jerusalem, Media appears to have shaken off the yoke; and from this period, therefore, we may date the Median dynasty of the kings of Ecbatana, which commenced with Dejoces, the Arphaxad of the book of Judith.

Sennacherib was succeeded by his third son, Esarhaddon, who commenced his reign about 706 B.C.; and under him, Assyria not only remained a powerful empire, but was raised to a still higher pitch of greatness by the annexation of Babylon and Chaldaea to the monarchy of Nineveh. This conquest was followed up by the recovery of Syria. His successor, Saosduchinus,† found himself able to turn his arms against the revolted province of Media, over which Dejoces had now reigned in independence for 53 years. In the plains of Ragau (Rhages) a decisive battle ensued, in which the Medes were defeated, and the fugitive

* 2 Kings xvii. 6, xviii. 11.

† He is supposed to be the same monarch that, in the book of Judith, is called Nabuchodonosor, who reigned in Nineveh.—*PRI-DEAUX*, vol. i. p. 49. This appears to have been a title as commonly assumed by the Assyrian and Chaldean monarchs, as that of Pharaoh by the Egyptian sovereigns, or Cæsar by the Romans.—(Ib. p. 69.) We find it variously written—Bakhtunusser, Nabukhtunusser, Balt-un-nusser, Bucht-ul-nassar. *Ul Nassar*, in Arabic, signifies the victorious. *Balkhtalnassar* may be rendered, the happiness of victory. Sir John Malcolm says, *Bucht* is Persian, and he renders the whole title the “fortune of victory.” Manucheher was succeeded by a monarch named Nouzer, which is perhaps the same word as Nusser, and it may have been a surname differently compounded. The first part of the name of Nebuchadnezzar is supposed to be that of the Babylonian idol Nebo, which occurs in the composition of several names; e.g. Nabonassar, Nabopollasar, Nebuzaradan, &c.

monarch was overtaken in the mountains, and cut off with his whole army. Ecbatana itself, the royal capital, fell into the hands of the conqueror, by whom it was despoiled and laid in ruins. The date of this event is fixed in the 43d year of Manasseh, King of Judæa, B.C. 656.*

Dejoces (or Arphaxad) was succeeded by his son Phraortes, to whom is assigned a reign of 22 years. This monarch is said to have extended his conquests north of Mount Taurus as far westward as the river Halys, and to have made the Persians also his tributaries. Elated with these successes, he resolved to avenge on the Assyrians his father's defeat and death. At the head of a victorious army, he laid siege to Nineveh, but was defeated in an engagement with the Assyrians, and perished with his whole army. No sooner had his son Cyaxares settled himself on the throne, than he prepared to renew the contest. Having defeated the Assyrian forces, he led the Medes a second time to the gates of Nineveh; but was soon obliged to raise the siege, in order to defend his own territories against an incursion of the Scythians. From this new enemy he met a severe overthrow, which led to the loss of all the conquests made by his father in Armenia and Asia Minor.†

But an important revolution was now preparing the dissolution of the Assyrian empire. In the year 626 B.C. Nabopollasar, a Babylonian general, taking

* See Judith i. 5, 13, 16. Prideaux, vol. i. p. 49.

† Herodotus states, that the Scythians had for 28 years held the Upper Asia, (that is, the two Armenias, Cappadocia, Pontus, Colchis, and Iberia,) which had previously belonged to the Medes, when they were driven out by treachery in the reign of Cyaxares, and the Halys was again made the common boundary between the Medes and the Lydians.—See PRIDEAUX, vol. i. pp. 90, 98.

advantage of the unpopularity of the effeminate monarch, revolted, and restored in his own person the Babylonian monarchy, which had been lost in that of Assyria between 50 and 60 years. The sceptre of Ninus and Semiramis, to use the language of Gibbon, thus dropped from the hands of their enervated successors. Only fourteen years afterwards, the proud-city of Nineveh fell before the united arms of the kings of Media and Babylon, and its predicted destruction was accomplished by the vengeance of the Medes.*

Egypt was at this time governed by a warlike and enterprising monarch, Nechus II., who, taking advantage of the distracted state of the country, or jealous of the encroachments of these rival states, marched with a powerful army to the banks of the Euphrates, and made himself master of all the conquests of Sennacherib on that side of the river, placing a strong garrison in the great city of Carchemish.† This ill-advised expedition, however, cost the Egyptians dear. It appears to have been the commencement of that struggle which terminated in the overthrow of the long line of Pharaohs, and the ruin of their country by Cambyzes. A few years after,

* Eusebius states, that Nabopollasar, king of Babylon, having formed an alliance with Cyaxares, king of Media, by the marriage of his son, Nebuchadnezzar, to Amyitis, the daughter of Astyages and grand-daughter of Cyaxares, entered into a confederacy with him against the Assyrians; and thereon, joining their forces, they besieged Nineveh, which they took, and, to gratify the Medes, utterly destroyed. See Prideaux's *Connection*, vol. i. p. 67. The Author of the book of Tobit states, that Nineveh was taken by Nabuchodonosor and Assuerus. These were probably the generals of the united army: the latter is supposed to be Astyages. See Tob. xiv. 15.

† See 2 Kings xxiii. 29. Josephus states, that Pharaoh Necho made war upon the Medes and Babylonians, who had dissolved the Assyrian empire.—*Antiq.*, b. x. c. 6.

(606 B.C.) Nebuchadnezzar the Great, having retaken Carchemish, rapidly proceeded to deprive Nechus of all his Syrian possessions, overrunning the country to the very gates of Pelusium.* The destruction of Jerusalem by the same haughty conqueror, was provoked by the infatuation of the Jewish king, in entering into an alliance with Pharaoh Hophra against the Babylonian emperor.

In the fifth year of Zedekiah's reign (B.C. 594), Cyaxares, king of Media, died, after having reigned forty years, and was succeeded by his son Astyages, or Azdehak. This monarch, after a reign of thirty-five years, was succeeded by his son, Cyaxares II., the Darius of Scripture, and the uncle of the famous Cyrus, the conqueror of Sardis and of Babylon.

Hitherto we have been tracing the early annals of the Median kingdom. With regard to that of the Persians, it is remarkable, that neither the native histories, nor the pages of the classic writers, supply us with any thing more than scattered notices. From the reign of Jemsheed to that of Cyrus, the history of Persia is almost a blank; yet there cannot be a doubt, that it was the seat of a distinct and flourishing kingdom. It appears, however, to have been, in early times, much more closely connected with the southern kingdoms of Segistan, India, and Yemen, than with those of Northern Persia and Assyria. Elam, we have seen, was an independent and powerful kingdom in the days of Abraham. Isaiah alludes to the Elamites as a warlike nation "bearing the quiver;"† which answers to the description given of

* See Kings xxiv. 7. Mod. Trav., Egypt, vol. i. p. 88.

† Isa. xxii. 6. Kir, with which Elam is associated, appears, from 2 Kings xvi. 9, and Amos i. 5, to have been in Assyria, and was perhaps on the Kour or Cyrus. For "chariots of men,"

the mountaineers of Elymais by Strabo. Jeremiah has a distinct prophecy concerning the overthrow of Elam, and its subsequent restoration, which proves that, in the reign of Zedekiah, it had still its "king and its princes." * Accordingly, the author of the book of Judith, in enumerating the allies of the king of Nineveh, mentions those who came from "the plain of Arioch, the king of the Elymeans;" † distinguishing them from the Persians, who, with the Syrians and others, refused to send their contingent at the summons. As Elam did not at this time comprehend Persia, we must therefore add another independent kingdom to those which we have already enumerated as co-existing within the vast region now denominated Persia; and this would seem to have been the kingdom of Cambyses. ‡ We have thus a sufficient explanation of the statement, that, while the king of Elam was the ally or tributary of the Assyrian monarch, the Persians were in alliance with the monarch of Ecbatana. Astyages is stated to have given his daughter Mandana in marriage to Cambyses, King of Persia; and from this union sprang the famous Cyrus, in whom the kingdoms of the Medes and Persians were subsequently united. According to the prediction of Jeremiah, Elam was to be scattered

Houbigant, by the change of a letter, reads, "with chariots, Aram," *i. e.* Syria. Elam is also mentioned Isa. xi. 11.

* Jer. xlix. 34—9. The language of the prediction, "Behold, I will break the bow of Elam," corresponds to the above description.

† Judith i. 6. "Hydaspes," the Syriac renders the Ulai.—See CALMET.

‡ According to Xenophon, Cambyses, the father of Cyrus, was a Persian prince of the race of the Persedæ or descendants of Persus. Sir John Malcolm supposes him to be the Siawush of Ferdousi, who was the son of Roustum.

by "four winds from the four quarters of heaven," in every direction. Their situation exposed them to the invasion of the Assyrian, the Mede, the Persian, and the Arabian; and it probably suffered from each, before it was finally merged in the Persian kingdom, of which Shushan, its chief city, became the metropolis.*

In attempting to identify the Cyrus of Herodotus with the Kai Khosroo of Ferdousi, it is necessary to suppose, not only that a considerable portion of fabulous embellishment has been mingled with the traditional history of his Persian biographer, but that the scene of the principal transactions of his life has been either ignorantly or designedly changed. This is the view taken by Sir John Malcolm. "The transfer of a scene from the court of Ecbatana to that of the capital of Afrasiab, and the substitution of the latter king for the sovereign of Media, are liberties," he remarks, "which it was natural for the poet to take, and which cannot, therefore, be admitted to affect the remarkable coincidence in the whole substance of the narrative of the birth and education of this prince, as given by Ferdosi and Herodotus." Ferdousi composed his history under the auspices of the Sultan of Ghiznee, at that time the capital of Eastern Persia and Persian India; and he would naturally be induced to frame his history in accommodation to the taste or vanity of his royal patron. Few, if any of his readers, were acquainted with the countries of the west; they knew nothing of the kings of Assyria, Babylon, and Egypt;†

* A remarkable verification of the prediction; "and I will set my throne in Elam, and I will destroy from thence the king and the princes."—Jer. xlix. 38.

† As a proof of this, we may cite the threefold distribution of his dominions, ascribed to Feridoon, into Iran, Turan, and Roum, the latter implying the Turkish dominions; and Selim, on whom they were conferred, is evidently the Selim of Turkish history.

but the names of Touran, India, and China were familiar to them, and they are therefore made the theatre of all the achievements ascribed to the heroes of Persian story.

The fragments from which the "Shah Namah" was compiled, were in the Pehlivi language; and the poem is said to contain so many Pehlivi words, that it cannot be understood by a modern Persian without a glossary, while Arabic words and phrases were studiously rejected. The Pehlivi was, according to Ferdousi, the language of the court in the time of the Kaianian dynasty; and all the books written in Persia, prior to the Mohammedan conquest, except the religious writings of Zoroaster and others, were in that dialect. Sir William Jones supposes, that both the Pehlivi (or Pahlavi) and the Chaldee had a common source, and were derived from the old Assyrian language. The Zend or sacred language of Persia, and the Parsi or modern Persian, he supposes to be closely related to the Sanscrit.* The Parsi, in its present form, is so mixed with the Pehlivi and Arabic, that it is not easy to separate the words that belong to the different languages of which it is constructed; but it is evidently allied both to the Sanscrit and to the Semitic languages. The Zend, however, approaches much more nearly to the Sanscrit; and this is supposed to be the most ancient language of Persia, since, in the earliest periods of which we have any authentic record, it was the language of the learned and religious.†

These facts are important, as tending to throw a faint light upon the early history of the country.

* Sir W. Jones's Works, vol. i. (4to.), pp. 83, 92.

† Malcolm, vol. i. p. 204.

They afford some sanction to the hypothesis of Sir William Jones, that a powerful monarchy was established in Iran prior to the era of Kaiomurs and the Pehlivi dynasty, and that the first Persians were allied to the Hindoos.* This opinion rests partly upon the authority of the *Dabistan*, a Persian work written about a century and a half ago by a learned native of Cashmere, and professedly compiled from the works of the ancient Guebers or fire-worshippers. The authenticity of some parts at least of this work, has been considered as questionable. Sir John Malcolm thinks, that there appears a manifest desire to connect the ancient history of the Persians with that of the Hindoos. The fourteen Mahabads of the primeval dynasty are evidently, he remarks, the fourteen Menus of Hindoo tradition; and the division which the first monarch of that race made of the inhabitants of Persia into four castes, seems to be a transcript, even to the names, of the first establishment of that celebrated institution, as given in the *Institutes of Menu*. The coincidence is not less striking between the name of Mahabool, the last prince of the Jyanian dynasty, and the Maha Bali of the Hindoos. If we suppose that the author of the *Dabistan* borrowed from the Hindoo records, from a wish to approximate the histories of Persia and India, no stress can be laid on these coincidences, which must rather detract from his credit. But, if he really compiled from Pehlivi authorities,

* Works, vol. i. pp. 87, 129, &c. To the word Pehlivi, many meanings have been assigned; but the most probable conjecture, Sir John Malcolm thinks, is that which derives it from Pehleh, "the ancient name of the countries of Isfahan, Rhe, and Deenawar." This derivation favours the opinion, that it was the language of an Assyrian race, by whom it is probable that Media was originally peopled, and whence they appear to have extended themselves through Khorasan to Bactra.

(and of this there can be no doubt as regards some parts of his work,) they must be received as a proof of corresponding history and early connexion between the Hindoos and the Persians.

Mahabool, who is stated to have been compelled to resign his crown, by the increasing depravity of his subjects, was succeeded by Yessan, the founder of a new dynasty, which terminated in his descendant, Yessan Ajum, the immediate predecessor of Kaiomurs. It may safely be inferred, that these changes of dynasty were attended by intestine disorders, a struggle of factions, followed by a foreign invasion. The quarter from which the conquerors proceeded, would not be doubtful, if we might rely upon the statement, that the capital of Kaiomurs was Balkh.* To whatever race they belonged, they were evidently inferior in civilization to the nation whom they subdued, who are designated by the term *deevs*.† It is clear also, that these *deevs*, whom we may perhaps consider as the aboriginal Persian race, were not subdued till after a contest which lasted through several successive reigns. Under Djemsheed, the Persians appear to have thrown off the yoke, and to have restored for a time the ancient monarchy; but this was

* The name of this monarch, according to the *Zeenut-ul-Tau-rikh*, is Syriac, and signifies "the living word." This is an improbable explanation; but that the name is foreign from the Persian language, is important. He was doubtless an Assyrian; and if Ajum be the same word as Adjem, Yessan Ajum was a Median, which comes to much the same.

† "Deev means magician, and in Shanscrit it means a brahmen, perhaps from some of that tribe pretending to be sorcerers; but speaking generally, it is the term which barbarous men in all ages have applied to their enemies or neighbours who had more art or knowledge than themselves. The rude inhabitants of Tatar, at the present day, will gravely assure you that the Chinese are *deevs* or magicians."—MALCOLM, vol. i. p. 13, note.

finally overthrown by Zohauk, who is expressly stated to have been descended from Kaiomurs; and the fabled flight and romantic adventures of the unfortunate Jemsheed may possibly disguise the subsequent history of the Persian race and dynasty, which, yielding to the growing power and extending conquests of the Assyrians, were driven eastward, and established themselves finally upon the banks of the Hindmend and the Indus.

In confirmation of this view of the ancient affinity between the Persians and the Indians, it deserves to be remarked, that one of the countries peopled by the descendants of Cush, was evidently in Persia. Josephus speaks of Cutha, which is supposed to be the same as Cushan, as a region of Persis bordering on Media; * and the prophet Isaiah speaks of a Cush in connexion with Elam and Shinar.† From this word, the Greek writers formed the appellation of Cossæi; and the modern name of Khuzistan might fairly be translated the land of the Cushites. That there were Indian Cushites, that is to say, Ethiopians distinguished from those of Africa as *Indi*, is certain; and the same race are distinguished from the other inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula, who were of Syrian origin, by the appellation of Cushite Arabs. This southern race appears, in fact, to have descended the streams which issue in the Persian Gulf, and gradually to have extended themselves over the countries of India, Persia, and Arabia bordering on the Persian

* Joseph. Antiq. book ix. c. 14; xi. c. 4. Calmet says, the Chaldeans generally put the thau ט where the Hebrews used the shin ש. The Cuthah mentioned 2 Kings, xvii. 24, was subject at that time to Assyria. Arrian mentions a region called Scuthia near the Persian Gulf.

† Isa. xi. 11. The Syriac renders it India.

Gulf and the southern ocean,* whence they spread into the African Ethiopia. Some of the tribes of this family were the first navigators. The invention of letters probably originated with them, the necessity for this medium of intercourse naturally rising out of the extension of commerce; and the first astronomers were probably these adventurous navigators of the southern deep. The conflicting claims of Chaldea, India, and Egypt, to the invention of the sciences, are reconciled by the supposition that were peopled by a common race,—a race which appears to have taken the lead among the families of the ancient world, in commerce, civilization, and the arts, and which, it is highly remarkable, has, with few exceptions, been every where, in all ages, a subject race.†

“There are some circumstances,” remarks Sir John Malcolm, “that might dispose us to believe that the ancient religions of Persia and of India were connected in their origin. Among other proofs in favour of this conjecture, we find that there was, in the

* The coast of Gedrosia is even now more under the authority of the Imaum of Muskat, than that of any other power.

† Bryant, amid his learned reveries, sometimes strikes out some important fact. “The third country styled Ethiopia,” he remarks, “comprehended the regions of Persis, Chusistan, and Susiana. Herodotus takes notice of Ethiopians about these parts; and the country is mentioned by the prophet Zephaniah, when he speaks of the return of Judah from captivity, ch. iii. v. 10. . . . Still further east, beyond Carmania, was another region of this name, which by Eusebius is termed ‘the Ethlopiæ which looks towards the Indi, to the south-east.’” This answers to the situation of Segistan, in which we have supposed the Old Persian race to have maintained itself, after the overthrow of the Persepolitan dynasty. “Even Chaldea,” adds the learned Writer, “was esteemed Ethiopia.”—See BRYANT’S *Anal.*, vol. iv. pp. 223—236. Also, CALMET’S *Dict.*, art. Cush; and MOD. TRAV., *Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 351. It is remarkable that both the Syriac and the Chaldee Versions, for Cush, in Isa. xi. 11, and Zeph. iii. 10, read India,

early ages of both countries, an abhorrence of animal flesh, which has been preserved, to this day, by some of the highest and most respected of the castes of India. The first person in Persia who departed from this usage, was the tyrant Zohauk, whose name is yet held in execration. We may suppose that a horror at this practice remained even after it became general, and that many humane and pious men looked back with veneration at the superior innocence of a former age. It is on this principle that we must account for the anxiety of the historians to establish, that their prophet (Zoroaster) was produced, not only without sin, but without pain or death to either the animal or the vegetable creation ; for the ancient Persians believed the latter, though insensible to pain and pleasure, had life, and was pervaded by the eternal spirit, as well as the former.”* The appearance of this extraordinary personage, to which the preceding view of the early history of the country forms no unsuitable introduction, occupies one of the most interesting pages of the Persian annals. Before we proceed, however, to give an account of his life and doctrines, we must bring down the chronological series to the time of his birth.

“ In the seventh year after the restoration of the Jews (B.C. 530), died Cyrus, their great benefactor, after he had reigned, from his first taking on him the command of the Persian and Median armies, 30 years ; from his taking of Babylon, nine years ; and from his being sole monarch of the East, after the death of Cyaxares, or Darius the Mede, his uncle, seven years ; being at the time of his death seventy years old.” † Such is the statement of the learned Dean Prideaux. Sir John Malcolm has taken great pains to harmonize

* Malcolm, vol. i. pp. 191, 2.

† Prideaux, vol. i. p. 234.

the various accounts of this great monarch with authentic history and Scripture.* Yet, after all, it is impossible to recognise, in the Kai Khosrou of the Persian annals, the character of the hero of Xenophon and the restorer of Jerusalem. Little more is given of his history in the sacred writings, than the brief notices relating to the destruction of Babylon, and the rebuilding of the Jewish temple; but “wherever his name is mentioned,” as Sir John remarks, “it is as a king who was alike eminent for wisdom and virtue, and who enjoyed great renown and extensive dominion upon the earth.” The utter silence of the Persian writers with regard to the western conquests of Cyrus and the most distinguishing achievements of his career, is hardly to be explained by the supposition, that Ferdousi changed the scene of those transactions from the banks of the Euphrates to those of the Oxus. With regard to the title of Kai Khosrou, it has been common to many sovereigns of Persia; and the dynasty of the Sassanians are always termed, in Roman history, the Chosroes or Khosroos of Persia. No stress, therefore, can be laid upon any fancied resemblance in the name; and if Cyrus ever bore that title, it is very supposable, that he may have been confounded with another sovereign who sustained the same appellation. Possibly enough, Cyrus might have a son of his own name who governed the eastern provinces, conducted an expedition into Touran, and met with his death from the Scythians, in the manner related by Herodotus. The name of Cyrus is derived from Khour, which in Pehlivi signifies the sun. In the Hebrew Scriptures it is written Koreish, under which name he is celebrated by Mohammedan writers

* See Malcolm's Hist., vol. i. pp. 220—233.

as the successor to Belshazzar in the lieutenancy of Babylon ; but the overthrow of the Babylonian monarchy being erroneously placed in the reign of Ardisheser Dirazdust (Artaxerxes Longimanus), Koreish (of whose identity with Cyrus there can be no doubt) is made to be the grandson of Lohrasp by a Jewish mother ; and his connexion with the race of Israel is plausibly assigned as a reason for the extraordinary favour which Koreish * shewed to the Jews, in not only releasing them from captivity, but in aiding them to rebuild their temple. This chronological error, of which the latter hypothesis affords perhaps the explanation, does not materially affect the substantial accordance of this account with the Scripture history.

Over the manner in which this great monarch met his death, there hangs a singular uncertainty. Xenophon makes him die in his bed at Babylon. Herodotus states, that, among various accounts which he had heard of the death of Cyrus, he was most disposed to believe that which reports him to have been slain in an expedition against the *Mussagetæ*. This seems best to accord with the representation of the eastern writers, who pretend that Khosrou, after conquering Touran, determined to spend the remainder of his life in religious retirement ; that he proceeded to the spot he had fixed upon, where he *disappeared* ; and his train, among whom were some of the most renowned warriors of Persia, perished in a dreadful tempest. Diodorus states, that he was taken in an engagement,

* Sir John Malcolm objects, that the Coreish of the *Tarikh Toubree* is never advanced to the throne, and that no such name occurs in the pages of Ferdousi ; objections which seem to us of as little weight as that the national vanity or ignorance of the Persian writers should lead them to represent Nebuchadnezzar as the mere lieutenant of the Persian emperor.

and hanged; Ctesias, that he was killed by the javelin of an Indian; and (to complete the discrepancies between these various accounts) Lucian asserts, that there is an inscription on some columns that mark the boundary of Media, which implies that Cyrus, at the age of one hundred, died of grief, on hearing of the cruelties committed by his son.* The reign of that son, the Cambyses of the Greek historians, and the merciless conqueror of Egypt, is wholly passed over in the native annals; and it is supposed, that, as well as that of Smerdis the Magian, it is included in the reign of Lohrasp, the immediate successor of Kai Khosrou.

There is, perhaps, reason to doubt whether Cambyses really succeeded his father on the throne of the empire of the world. His undertaking the conquest of Egypt in person, and his four years' absence from the seat of government, are irreconcilable with his filling the throne of Cyrus. It is more probable, that he was entrusted with one of the provincial governments. According to Persian story, Lohrasp, to whom Kai Khosrou is said to have resigned his throne, was the son-in-law of Kai Kaoos or Cyaxares; and it is not unlikely, that, while Cyrus reigned at Babylon, Lohrasp was the actual governor of Media, and that he in fact, though not without some opposition, succeeded him in the empire. The preference which Lohrasp shewed to the children of Cyaxares, (by which, perhaps, we may understand the Medians,) is stated to have given umbrage to his son Gushtasp, in whose name we recog-

* Malcolm, vol. i. pp. 222—4. According to all the historians of Alexander, Cyrus was buried at Passargadæ; and the Macedonian conqueror is said to have ordered the tomb, which had been defaced, to be repaired. The Persian inscription, which told the traveller not to envy the mighty conqueror his small portion of dust, was translated into Greek, and engraved in that language under the original inscription,

nise the Hystaspes of the Greeks. At the head of a powerful army, he invaded the Persian territories; and Lohrasp, having abdicated in his favour, closed his days in "pious retirement." *

The accession of Darius Hystaspes is fixed by chronologists in the year 521 B.C.; and in his reign, at least if he be the same as Gushtasp, all authorities seem to agree, the famous Zerdusht (the Zoroaster of western writers) succeeded in establishing his new religion. He was born at Uremeea (Urumea or

* Prideaux and others, supposing Cambyzes and Smerdis to be the two kings of Persia who reigned between the time of Cyrus and that of Darius Hystaspes, contend that they must be, the one the Ahasuerus, and the other the Artaxerxes, who obstructed the building of the Jewish temple. But Ahasuerus was a common title of the Persian kings; and the Artaxerxes of Ezra iv. 7, is evidently the same monarch as the Ahasuerus of the preceding verse, for there appear to have been but one petition and one royal letter in reply. This monarch may therefore have been Lohrasp. With regard to the latter, Sir John Malcolm remarks, that the leading events of his reign are differently related by almost every Mohammedan historian. They are not agreed as to either his lineage, his disposition, or his history. The descent of Darius Hystaspes, as given by Herodotus, would, he adds, better accord with that which the Persians assign to Lohrasp. It must have been during the long period assigned by the native writers to the reign of Lohrasp, that Abû-kurrub Tobba, an enterprising monarch of the Hamyarite dynasty, who reigned in Yemen, conducted an expedition through Kourdistan and Adjerbijan into Touran, and penetrated to the boundaries of the Chinese monarchy. It can hardly be supposed that he could accomplish this without being in alliance with the Persian monarch, as he is stated to have led his army through Balkh; but he probably took the route of Mazanderan. He is said to have founded the city of Samarcand on the ruins of Soghd; and on the conquest of Bokhara by the Mohammedans, an inscription was found on the gates of that city, recording his conquest. He is stated to have returned with an immense booty, through India, and probably by way of Mekran. The Arabian chronology would fix this expedition later, but it better agrees with the unsettled character of the country at this period.—See MOD. TRAV., *Arabia*, pp. 24—6.

Ooroomia), a town of Adjerbijan, situated near the southern extremity of the lake to which it gives name; and his first successes were in that province, whence his doctrine rapidly spread over the whole empire. Isfunder, the son or brother of Gushtasp, is stated to have been the first convert of distinction made by this pretended prophet; and it is ascribed to his influence, that the Persian monarch, who had imprisoned Zoroaster for several years, ultimately became his patron, and ordered twelve thousand cow-hides to be tanned, that the precepts of the new faith might be inscribed upon them. These parchments were deposited in a vault hewn out of the rock at Persepolis, where some vaults answering to the description are still to be seen.*

When Zoroaster was born, as Persian legends say, like the prince of necromancers, Merlin, he burst out into a loud laugh; and such a light shone from his body as illuminated the whole room.† Like the Arabian Impostor, he pretended to have performed a journey to heaven, where he received from Hormuzd, or the Good Spirit, the sacred volume of the Zend-avesta and the sacred fire. He also descended to hell, where he beheld Ahriman, or the Evil Spirit, but was “unable to compass the circle that enclosed him.” For twenty years he lived in profound retirement in the recesses of Mount Elburz, in a cave adorned with mystical figures of the elements, the seasons, and the celestial bodies. We transcribe the abstract given by

* Malcolm, vol. i. p. 59. Pliny tells us, that Zoroaster's works contained two millions of verses.

† “This ancient tradition respecting Zoroaster, which we meet with in Persian works, is mentioned by Pliny.”—MALCOLM, vol. i. p. 193.

the accomplished Historian of Persia, of the leading doctrines of the Zend-a-vesta.

“ God, he taught, existed from all eternity, and was like infinity of time and space. There were, he averred, two principles in the universe,—good and evil: the one was termed Hormuzd, which denotes the presiding agent of all that is good; and the other, Ahriman, the lord of evil. Each of these had the power of creation; but that power was exercised with opposite designs; and it was from their co-action, that an admixture of good and evil was found in every created thing. The angels of Hormuzd, or the good principle, sought to preserve the elements, the seasons, and the human race, which the infernal agents of Ahriman desired to destroy: but the source of good, the great Hormuzd, was alone eternal, and must, therefore, ultimately prevail. Light was the type of the good; darkness, of the evil spirit; and God had said to Zoroaster, ‘ My light is concealed under all that shines.’ Hence, the disciple of that prophet, when he performs his devotions in a temple, turns towards the sacred fire that burns upon its altar; and when in the open air, towards the sun, as the noblest of all lights, and that by which God sheds his divine influence over the whole earth, and perpetuates the works of his creation. Zoroaster declared to his followers, that the guardian angels of animals, and of the elements, had addressed him as follows:

“ ‘ Guard my herds and flocks,’ said the holy Bahman, ‘ O man of God! These I received from the Almighty; these I commit to you. Let not the young be slain, nor those that are still useful.’

“ ‘ Servant of the Most High!’ exclaimed the dazzling Ardibehesht, ‘ speak to the royal Gushtasp from

me. Say, that unto thee I have confided all fires. Ordain the *mobuds*, the *dustoor*s, and the *herboods** to preserve them, and neither to extinguish them in the water nor in the earth. Bid them erect in every city, a temple of fire, and celebrate, in honour of that element, the feasts ordained by law. The brilliancy of fire is from God : and what is more beautiful than that element ? It requires only wood and odours. Let the young and the old give these, and their prayers shall be heard. I give it over to thee, as I received it from God. Those who do not fulfil my words shall go to the infernal regions.'

"Shaherawar next spoke : 'O thou pure man !' said this angel, 'when thou art upon the earth, tell all men my words. Bid those who carry the lance, the sword, the dagger, and the mace, clean them each year, that the sight of them may put to flight those that cherish bad designs. Bid them never place confidence in wicked men, nor in their enemies.'

"Espendermad exclaimed : 'Thou, who shalt be as a blessing unto mankind, preserve the earth from blood, uncleanness, and from carcases : carry such where the earth is not cultivated, and where neither man nor water passeth. Fruits in abundance shall reward labour ; and the best king is he who rendereth the earth most fertile. Say this unto men from me.'

"The angel Khourdad said : 'I confide to thee, O Zoroaster ! the water that flows, that which is stagnant, the water of rivers, that which comes from afar, and from the mountains, the water from rain and from springs. Instruct men, that it is water which gives strength to all living things. It makes all verdant. Let it not be polluted with any thing

* Different orders of priests,

dead or impure, that your victuals, boiled in pure water, may be healthy. Execute thus the words of God.'

" After Khourdad had finished, Amerdad said : ' O Zoroaster ! bid men not destroy, nor pull, except in season, the plants and the fruits of the earth ; for these were meant as a support and blessing to man and unto animals.'

" Zoroaster was also instructed to establish in every place, a priest who should read the sacred volume, or the Avesta ; and these were ordained to preserve pure the four elements of which man is formed ; earth, air, fire, and water.

" These were the leading principles of the religion of Zoroaster. The general maxims taught in his great work, the Zend-a-vesta, were moral and excellent, and well calculated to promote industry and virtue. That the principal tenets of the faith he taught were pure and sublime, and that his religion inculcated the worship of one immortal and beneficent Creator, is as true as are those accusations which state, that he artfully adapted his creed to the prejudices of his countrymen, and that, whatever might have been his intention, his introduction of flame from an earthly substance, as the symbol of God, opened a wide door for superstition. There can be no doubt, that the devotion intended for the deity of Zoroaster, has been given to the symbol by many of his followers, who have merited, by such a practice, the reproachful name of worshippers of fire.

" Though the Persians, before the era of Zoroaster, revered fire as one of the elements, we have no reason to believe that they preserved it in temples, or addressed their devotions to it.* The introduction of

* The latter part of this representation is inaccurate.

this usage may be deemed one of the greatest changes which that prophet made in their religion. In directing his disciples to turn to the sun, when they offered up their prayers, he acted in accordance with the national belief; and that was also flattered by the great veneration in which he held the elements. But the obedience which he paid to the angel Espendermad, who bade him not soil the earth with carcases, led him to change some part of the usages of the ancient Persians in respect to the disposal of the dead. According to Herodotus, the Persians used to inter their dead; but the corpse was not buried till the flesh had been eaten by dogs and birds.* It is the practice of the followers of Zoroaster, to expose the carcases of their dead on the tops of cemeteries, built 'where neither man nor water passeth.' And when the flesh is eaten off by birds, or wasted by exposure, the bones, instead of being separately interred, as formerly, are thrown into a great cavity in the centre of the common sepulchre.

"Zoroaster, we are informed, was a great astrologer, and, from his knowledge of the heavenly bodies, could calculate nativities and foretell events; and this knowledge has descended to the priesthood of his followers. He had presiding angels over each month and day: the names and duties of these, and of a host of genii, are detailed in his works. The religion which he introduced, was disturbed, after his death, by a thousand schisms. The last great reform, or rather re-establishment of the original orthodox doctrines of Zoroaster, took place in the reign of Ardisheer Babigan, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty; and the rites

* Many vases full of human bones have been discovered in different parts of Persia.

ordained by the chief *mobuds* under his reign, are still observed by the followers of this religion." *

Dean Prideaux, following the learned Hyde, maintains that Zoroaster was of Jewish origin; and he is generally supposed to have been a servant of one of the prophets of Israel, which must have been Daniel. He was, at all events, thoroughly versed in all the books of the Old Testament then extant; and most of the reformatations which he introduced into the Magian religion, (for he is not to be considered as the founder of a new system,) were evidently taken either from the sacred writings or from the sacred usages of the Jews. Thus, Dr. Prideaux remarks, his pretending to have heard God speaking to him out of the midst of a flame of fire, seems to have been suggested by what is recorded of Moses in the third chapter of Exodus, or to the appearance of the Almighty on Mount Sinai. The visible shekinah which rested over the mercy-seat, is thought to have been the ori-

* Malcolm's History, vol. i. pp. 191—9. See also Prideaux, vol. i. pp. 303—20. Zoroaster pretended, that the reformation which he introduced, had no other object than to bring back the religion of the Persians to the purity of the Abrahamic faith; and he called his book, the book of Abraham. He speaks of that patriarch, as well as of Joseph, Moses, and Solomon, with the highest veneration, and inserts a great part of the Psalms of David in the Zend-a-vesta. His object seems to have been, to graft the Jewish religion upon the Magian superstition, by introducing the doctrine of a Supreme Being superior to both the Good and the Evil Principle, the Light and the Darkness, of the old theology. And this "hint," Dean Prideaux supposes he might derive from Isa. xlv. 5—7, in which there is an obvious allusion to the Magian doctrines. The Zend-a-vesta, which is still extant, has been translated by Anquetil du Perron. The learned Professor Hyde, of Oxford, issued proposals for publishing the whole with a Latin translation, but met with no encouragement. The title is said to signify the Fire-kindler. Its authenticity has been called in question by two oriental scholars, Jones and Richardson, but has been vindicated by Anquetil, and by Von Adelung, the learned author of "*Mithridates*."

ginal of the sacred fires in the fire-temples. "The Jews," it is remarked, "had a sacred fire which came down from heaven upon their altar of burnt-offerings, which they did there ever, till the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, inextinguishably maintain; and with this fire only were all their sacrifices and oblations made; and Nadab and Abihu were punished with death for offering incense to God with other fire. In like manner, Zoroaster pretended to have brought his holy fire from heaven, and therefore commanded it to be kept with the same care. And to kindle fire on the altar of any newly erected fire-temple, or to rekindle it on any such altar where it had been, by any unavoidable accident, extinguished, from any other fire than from one of the sacred fires in some other temple, or else from the sun, was reckoned a crime to be punished in the same manner. And whereas great care was taken among the Jews, that no wood should be used on their altar in the temple, but that which they reputed clean; and for this reason they had it all barked and examined before it was laid on; and, that when it was laid on, the fire should never be blowed up either with bellows or the breath of man for the kindling of it: hence, Zoroastres ordained both these particulars to be also observed in respect of his sacred fire among his magians, commanding them to use only barked wood for the maintaining of it, and no other means for the kindling of it up into a flame, but the pouring on of oil and the blasts of the open air. And that he should in so many things write after the Jewish religion, or have been so well informed therein, can scarce seem probable, if he had not been first educated and brought up in it."*

* Prideaux, vol. i. p. 310.

The worship of the solar fire as the shekinah of Deity, and of the elementary fire as the emblem of the Mithratic, was not a new institution, but had been from time immemorial the usage of the sect;* and it is remarkable, that many among the Jewish nation had adopted this species of idolatry.† But “whereas, hitherto, they had erected their altars on the tops of hills and on high places in the open air, and there performed all the offices of their religious worship, where often, by rain, tempests, and storms, the sacred fire was extinguished, and the holy offices of their religion interrupted; for the preventing of this, he directed, that, wherever any of these altars were erected, temples should be built over them, that so the sacred fires might be the better preserved, and

* Ferdousi ascribes the introduction of the worship of fire to Hooshung, the grandson of Kaiomurs; and the account which he gives of its origin, (see Malcolm's Hist. vol. i. p. 185, note,) would lead to the supposition, that it was suggested by the phenomenon of a burning mountain, either a volcanic eruption or the effect of ignited naphtha. The name of the province of Adjerbidjan (house of fire), together with the fact that some of its mountains exhibit marks of volcanic agency, may be thought to favour this tradition. In like manner, Pélé, the awful deity of fire, is worshipped by the natives of Hawaii, the superstition having its origin in the stupendous phenomena of “the Etna of the Pacific.”—See Ellis's Tour through Hawaii, pp. 205—8.

† See Ezek. viii. 16. “The holy of holies being on the western end of the temple, all that entered thither to worship God, did it with their faces turned that way; for that was their *kebla*, or the point towards which they directed their worship. But the *kebla* of the magians being the rising sun, they always worshipped with their faces towards the east. And therefore these five and twenty men, by altering their *kebla*, are shewn to have altered their religion, and, instead of worshipping God according to the Jewish religion, to have gone over to the religion and worship of the magians.”—PRIDEAUX, vol. i. p. 30. Ezekiel prophesied in the fifth and sixth years of the captivity of Jehoiachin, B.C. 595 and 594.

the public offices of their religion be the better performed before them. For all the parts of their public worship were performed before these public sacred fires, as all their private devotions were before private fires in their own houses; not that they worshipped the fire, (for this they always disowned,) but God in the fire."

The worship of the sun was common to the Magian superstition and the Sabian idolatry; but these two sects were otherwise not only distinct, but opposite and hostile to each other. The latter, which originated with the Cushites, appears to have prevailed among the older Persians. Herodotus states, indeed, that the Persians in his time had neither statues, temples, nor altars, but that they worshipped the sun, and moon, and the elements, to whom they sacrificed according to ancient custom.* Little stress can be laid upon this vague account, which seems to confound the Magian with the Sabian worship, any further than as proving that the latter, in its grosser form of idolatry, had given way before the rival system. But the absence of splendid temples, such as Greece and Egypt reared to their heroic or bestial deities, must have been very striking to a foreigner, and might lead him too hastily to conclude, that, as he saw no temples, there could be no altars. The author of the *Dabistan* states, however, that the primeval religion of Persia, which corresponded to the patriarchal faith, was followed by the adoration of the host of heaven, and that this preceded the worship of fire.

The followers of Mahabad are represented to have worshipped the planets under symbolic images of a very singular description. That of Saturn, which was

* Beloe's Herodotus, vol. i. p. 193. Malcolm, vol. i. p. 197.

of black stone, had the head of an ape (or dog?), the body of a man, and the tail of a hog. That of Jupiter, which was of an earthy colour, had the human form with the vulture's head, surmounted with a crown, from which issued the heads of a cock and a dragon; it held in one hand a turban, and in the other a crystal water-pot. Mars was represented in red stone, as a naked warrior, brandishing a bloody scimitar in one hand, and raising an iron scourge in the other. The image of the Sun, which was of gold, represented a two-headed deity, half of human form, the lower part that of a dragon, mounted on a horse: in its right hand was a slender rod of gold, a collar of rich jewels adorned its neck, and on each head was a seven-pointed diadem. Venus was a naked human figure, with a similar crown, and holding a bottle of oil and a comb. Mercury had the head of a hog, the arms of a man, and the tail of a fish; it was crowned, and held a pen and ink-horn. The Moon was represented by a man sitting upon a white cow, holding a chaplet of rubies in one hand, and a sprig of sweet basil in the other. These representations of "the souls of the stars," (if, indeed, we may depend upon the authenticity and accuracy of the description,) must have been so far arbitrary, that they are likely to have been modified by caprice, the introduction of new ideas, or a difference of national usage. Sir John Malcolm remarks, that the genii or souls of the planets are worshipped by the Hindoos, but under quite different figures from those mentioned in the *Dabistan*.* In

* In the Hindoo pantheon, *Ruuee*, the sun, is a red image of human form, holding a water-lily in each hand, riding in a chariot drawn by seven yellow horses. *Somu* or *Chundru*, the moon, is represented by a white man, drawn by ten horses, or sitting on the water-lily, his right hand extended, and a club in his left. *Mun-*

Arabia and Egypt, this worship long prevailed; and it appears to have been in those countries the most ancient mode of idolatry. The planets, we are told, were first worshipped "*per sacella*;" that is, by tabernacles or shrines, which were looked upon as representing the orbs in which those starry intelligences had their habitation: the invention of images was brought in afterwards. Traces of this mode of idolatry are still to be found in Egypt; and the planetary shrines always appear to be of higher antiquity than the temple which encloses them.*

Admitting that the representations given in the Dabistan, are comparatively of modern invention, the worship of the planetary host is known to be of the highest antiquity; and it is not improbable, that the *deevs*, against whom the monarchs of the Paishdadian or Assyrian race are described as maintaining so long and obstinate a contest, were the votaries of the Sabian idolatry.

gulu, or Mars, is painted red, and wears a red necklace and red garments; he rides on a sheep, and has four arms, two of his hands holding weapons, and two significantly extended. *Boodhu*, the Hindoo Mercury, has also four arms, two of his hands holding a club and scimitar; he rides on a lion, and wears yellow garments. *Vrihusputee*, Jupiter, is painted yellow, sitting on the water-lily: he has four arms, and his hands hold a bead-roll, an alms' dish, and a club, the fourth bestowing a blessing: he is a bramhun, the preceptor and priest of the gods, and seems to have changed shapes and offices with Boodhu. *Shookru*, the planet Venus, is also represented as a priest, sitting on the water-lily, dressed in white, and with four arms similarly occupied. *Shunee*, Saturn, is dressed in black, and rides on a vulture: three of his four hands hold a bow and arrow and a javelin: his baleful influence is much dreaded.—See WARD'S *View of the Hindoos*, vol. i. pp. 89—100.

* See Mod. Trav. Egypt, vol. i. pp. 347, 8. Arabia, pp. 46—49. How widely Sabianism prevailed at an era prior to all authentic history, is proved by the names of the days of the week, which, in Sanscrit and the Indo-Chinese dialects, as well as in those of the Indo-European family, are derived from the heavenly bodies.

By placing the prevalence of this worship anterior to the era of Houshung, Sir John Malcolm remarks, we may satisfactorily account for the absence of all traces of such representations on any of the existing monuments, as well as for the declaration of Herodotus. Sabianism, however, is stated to have maintained itself in Persia, long after the introduction of the Mohammedan faith; and a work explanatory of the tenets and ceremonies of the sect, was written by a celebrated Sabian, in the third century of the Hejirah. Its connexion with the science of astrology is obvious; and there is no Mohammedan of learning, in either Persia or India, Sir John Malcolm states, who is not an astrologer. It is remarkable, too, he adds, "that, on the most trivial occasions, when calculating nati-vities and foretelling events, they deem it essential to describe the planets in terms not unsuited to the account which the author of the *Dabistan* has given of these deities." *

Tahamurs, surnamed *Deev-bund*, is stated to have

* The following is a literal translation from the introduction of a paper given to Sir John Malcolm, by the king's astrologer at Shiraz, in 1800. "Praise be to that great Creator who formed earth, heaven, and the heavenly bodies; among whose divine works, mankind appear but as a small spot. The dark Saturn, like a sentinel, in the seventh heaven, is attentive to his wishes. The glorious Jupiter, like an able judge, enthroned in the sixth heaven, is watchful of his desires. And the bloody Mars, with his purple-stained sabre, sits in the fifth heaven, the ready executioner of his Maker's wrathful commands. And the resplendent Sun, encircled by a flaming crown, shines in the fourth heaven, with light that he has received from the Almighty. The beautiful Venus, like a glad minstrel, sits in her elegant apartment in the third heaven, supported by his power. The feathered Mercury, like a wise secretary, sits in the second heaven, the writer of the Almighty's orders. The clear moon sits enthroned in the first heaven, a sign of the Creator's power."—MALCOLM'S *Hist.* vol. I. p. 190, note.

introduced a very different species of idolatry, more nearly approaching to the polytheism of western nations, but still more closely allied to the Buddhism which has become the religion of all the Indo-Chinese nations; the worship of images representing deceased friends, or ancestors, or heroes.* This species of idolatry appears, however, never to have maintained itself in Persia, and it probably disappeared with the monarch, or dynasty, to whom its introduction, is ascribed, being doubtless of Tatar or Scythian origin.

To return to Zoroaster: although his first appearance seems to have been in Adjerbijan, and the first fire-temple is said to have been erected at Xiz, in Media, the persecution which he at first met with seems to have occasioned his flight or removal to Bactria; where, we are told, under the protection of Hystaspes, the father of Darius, and the governor of that province under his son, he met with great success in propagating his doctrines. The city of Balkh, where he fixed his residence, became, in consequence, the metropolis of Magianism, the Mekka of the sect; and it continued to be the seat of the Archimagus, till the Mohammedan conquest occasioned its transfer to Kerman. The conversion of Darius himself to the new faith, is said to have taken place in the thirteenth year of his reign, in consequence of a personal visit paid by the Impostor to the royal court at Susa. Elated by this success, he resolved, on his return to Balkh, to endeavour to effect the conversion of Arjasp, king of Touran; but the result was most dis-

* Malcolm, vol. i. p. 15. A curious extract is given from the travels of Rubruquis, the envoy of Louis IX. to the court of the grandson of Chenghiz Khan, which shews that this singular species of idolatry prevailed in Tatory in the thirteenth century.

astrous. The story is told with many variations, and mingled with much of romance ; but it is certain that a religious war ensued, during which Balkh was taken, and a general massacre took place of all the priests and followers of Zoroaster, to the number of eighty persons, including the aged Lohrasp or Hystaspes, and, according to some accounts, the prophet himself : others make him to have died a few months before this invasion. Darius, however, soon revenged the injury, and, collecting a powerful army, drove the Tatars beyond the Oxus ; after which he rebuilt all the fire-temples that had been demolished by the invaders, more especially that at Balkh, which he erected on a scale suitable to its dignity as the metropolitan temple, and it thenceforth was called *Auzur-Gustasp*, the fire-temple of Hystaspes. The Persian monarch is also stated to have placed himself at the head of the sect, assuming the title of Archimagus, which he ordered to be engraved among his other titles on his monument. And hence it arose, that the kings of Persia were subsequently considered as of the sacerdotal tribe, and were always initiated into that order previously to their inauguration into the kingdom. Darius is stated to have died the following year. But the faith of Zoroaster was now firmly established, and Lucian enumerates among those who professed this religion, in the first century of the Christian era, the Persians, the Parthians, the Bactrians, the Khowaresmians, the Arians, the Sacans, and the Medes, besides many barbarous nations. The Greeks held the name of Zoroaster in high esteem. Pythagoras is said to have been his scholar. Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, and Porphyry mention him with honour ; Pliny dwells upon his life and character at length ; and Apuleius styles him

“the chief doctor in all divine mysteries.” His reputation still maintains itself all over the East, Moham-medans as well as Magians, and other sects, revering the memory of the great *hakim*, as one of the most skilful and eminent of their ancient astronomers.*

The reign of Gushtasp is extended by the Persian historians over sixty years, that of Xerxes, his son and successor, being wholly passed over; but Isfundeer, who is supposed, by Sir John Malcolm, to be the same as Xerxes, is made the hero of his reign. His chivalrous achievements are rivalled only by those of the illustrious Roustum, who is again brought on the scene; and Isfundeer is slain by him in an unjust war, in which he had reluctantly engaged, at the command of his wicked father, with the king of Segistan. It is from the western historians only, that we learn any thing of the leading events of the reign of Darius Hystaspes. In the fourth year of his reign was issued the famous decree which renewed the previous permission given by Cyrus to the Jews, to rebuild their temple; and in the following year (B.C. 517), the revolt of the Babylonians took place, which terminated, after a siege of twenty months, in the final overthrow and miserable destruction of their once

* See Prideaux's *Conn.* vol. i. pp. 299—331. Malcolm's *History*, vol. i. pp. 192—9. It is scarcely necessary to advert, in this place, to the various discrepancies which obscure the history of Zoroaster. Justin makes him a king of Bactria, contemporary with Ninus; and many writers contend that there were two of the name, who lived at different epochs. Gibbon adopts the opinion maintained by Moyle against his uncle, Dr. Prideaux, that the era of Zoroaster ought to be placed much earlier. In fact, though the oriental writers agree that there was but one Zerdusht, who lived in the time of Gushtasp, and who was the author of the *Zendavesta*, we have seen that they ascribe the first introduction of magianism to Hooshung, a king of Balkh, who is evidently the *alius Zoroastres* of Pliny.

haughty capital.* In the ninth year of his reign, Darius is stated to have marched an army of 70,000 men, through Asia Minor, to the Thracian Bosphorus, which he crossed by a bridge of boats, and thence proceeded to subdue all Thrace as far as the Ister. Not satisfied with these conquests, he crossed the river into the country of the Scythians, but had reason to repent of his rashness in venturing into a desert and inhospitable region, from which he returned with the loss of half his army. He passed the winter at Sardis, the Lydian capital, and thence returned to Susa, which had become the favourite residence of the sovereign since the union of the Persian and Median monarchies. Only two years after this western expedition, Darius is said to have determined on the conquest of India; for which purpose, having built a fleet of ships at Caspatyrus on the Indus, he gave the command of it to Scylax, a Carian Greek, and despatched him on a voyage of discovery. This occupied thirty months. On his return, the Persian monarch entered India with a large army, subdued the whole country, imposed upon it an annual tribute of 300 talents of gold, and made it the twentieth prefecture of the empire. These exploits, as narrated by Herodotus, rival any thing that is fabled of Isfunder or Roustum himself. Ferdousi states, that his hero, Isfunder, conquered, for his father Gushtasp, India, Arabia, and Roum or Anatolia; but he gives no particulars of the expeditions; and his history of this period degenerates

* Thus strikingly, remarks Dr. Prideaux, did "the punishment of Babylon keep pace with the restoration of Jerusalem," according to the prediction of Jeremiah, ch. xxv. 12, 13. About two years before, the prophet Zechariah was commissioned to warn the Jews still remaining at Babylon, to "flee and come out of that land."—See PRIDEAUX, vol. i. pp. 264—9.

into mere romance. The probability is, however, that the achievements ascribed to Darius were, in part at least, those of his lieutenants and provincial governors or pashas in Media, Lydia, Bactriana, and perhaps Segistan.

In the reign of this potent monarch, during which the empire seems to have reached its zenith, the history of Persia first begins to be closely connected with that of Greece. By the conquest of Lydia and Thrace, it had assumed the new and extraordinary attitude of a naval power; and first the Ionians, and then the Tyrians, whom Darius restored to all their former privileges, became the instruments of extending the vast dominions of the Great King over the islands of the Levant. The revolt of the Ionians under Aristagoras, in the twentieth year of his reign, was followed by the burning of Sardis, by the confederate fleet of the Ionians and Athenians; and the part taken by the latter in this expedition, was the origin of that fatal war between the Persians and the Greeks, which proved so calamitous to both, and ended in the overthrow of the Persian empire. But the history of the Ionian league, the fall and destruction of Miletus, the defeat of the Persians at Marathon, and the amicable contest between the sons of Darius for the succession to the throne; together with all the great events of the reign of Xerxes,—the invasion of Greece, the battles of Marathon, Salamis, Plataea, and Mycale, and the inglorious termination of the contest on the part of the invaders; are not to be found in the Persian annals, but form the most brilliant page in the history of Greece. On his return, through Asia Minor, Xerxes gave directions for the demolition of all the temples in the Grecian cities of Asia; an order which is attributed to his zeal for the Magian religion; but the plunder served to

replenish, in some degree, his exhausted treasury. Babylon shared the same fate, and all its temples were finally destroyed, agreeably to the predictions of the Jewish prophets.*

The assassination of Xerxes, by his relative Artabanus, took place, B.C. 461, in the twenty-first year of his reign. He was succeeded by his third son, Artaxerxes Longimanus, the Bahman or Ardisheer Dirazdust of the Persian annals, and the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther.† Something like a disguised or confused account of these transactions is found in the pages of Ferdousi. After Isfundeer had subdued all the foreign enemies of his father Gushtasp, he is sent to reduce to obedience the king of Segistan, who had thrown off his allegiance. In this expedition, he is represented as engaging with the greatest reluctance, and he meets his death from the hand of Roustum, to whom, nevertheless, the dying hero commits his son, Bahman, entreating him to educate him as a warrior. That son, however, on ascending the throne, soon became jealous of Roustum, and having invaded and subdued his hereditary province, put him to death with all his family, on the pretext of revenging the blood of his father. The general facts, that Roustum, a powerful chief, slew Isfundeer, yet protected his son; that a civil contest attended the accession of Ardisheer; and that it terminated in the massacre of Roustum and his family, so far accord with what the Greek his-

* Isa. xxi. 9. Jer. l. 2.; li. 44—52.

† Darius, the eldest son, is stated to have shared the fate of his father; and the second son, Hystaspes, was absent in Bactria, of which he was governor. It is probable, that *this* Hystaspes has been confounded with his grandfather, by Ferdousi, and that the circumstance has occasioned the extension of the reign of Gushtasp.

torians state respecting the character and fate of Artabanus, as to leave little doubt that both stories relate to the same personages. Of the identity of Ardisheer with Artaxerxes Μακροχρῆς or Longimanus, there can be no doubt. His surname, *Dirazdust* (or Long-arms), is stated to have been given to him, because, when he stood upright, the ends of his fingers reached below his knee.* The author of the *Tarikh Tabree* states, that under this monarch, to whom he erroneously ascribes the overthrow of Belshazzar, the Jews had the privilege granted them of being governed by a ruler of their own nation; and the favours they experienced, it is added, were owing to the express orders of Bahman, whose favourite lady was of the Jewish nation. Josephus expressly affirms that Artaxerxes Longimanus was the husband of Esther; and the extraordinary favour which he shewed to the Jews, strengthens this testimony.† He would seem, indeed, to have been the first monarch of Persia who, strictly speaking, by the subjugation of Segistan, “reigned from India even to Ethiopia, over a hundred and twenty-seven provinces.”

Persian historians assign to this great monarch a

* Malcolm, i. p. 67, note. “His name, Bah-man,” it is added, “is a Shanscrit compound, which signifies possessing arms.” Khondemir (Cantemir) states, however, that that name was given to him on account of his good disposition, the signification of that word in Syriac.—*Ib.* p. 235. A similar uncertainty attaches to the etymology of Ardisheer. *Oordoo-Sheer* means, in Persian, the lion of the camp; but Sir John Malcolm inclines to derive it from the Sanscrit *Urdha-siras*, “of exalted head.” Arta or Ard, signifies in Pehlivi and Kourdish, the earth. May not the compound imply the same as *Gil-shah*, prince of the earth?

† See Ezra, vi. 14. Archbishop Usher and Calmet suppose Darius Hystaspes to be the Ahasuerus of Esther; and Scaliger believed him to be Xerxes; but Prideaux has clearly shewn their opinions to be erroneous.

reign of a hundred and twelve years, but the Greek writers limit it to forty, and his death is fixed in the year B.C. 424. He was succeeded, according to the Persian annals, by his daughter Homai, who, after a reign of thirty-two years, resigned the crown to her son, Darab I., the Darius Nothus of the Greeks. It is natural that no notice should be taken of the ephemeral reigns of Xerxes II. and Sogdianus, which together occupied only eight months; and in Ptolemy's canon, Darius Nothus is made the immediate successor of Artaxerxes Longimanus, his reign extending from 424 B.C. to 405.

Homai appears to be the Parysatis whom the Greek writers make to be the queen of her half-brother Darius, and to whom they attribute a very prominent part in the transactions of his reign. Her son Arsaces is stated to have succeeded to the throne under the title of Artaxerxes, to which the Greeks added the surname of *Mnemon*, on account of his extraordinary memory. No sovereign, however, besides Longimanus or Dirazdust, is ever noticed by oriental writers under the name of Ardisheer; it is therefore highly probable, that Mnemon is the Darab I. of the Persian annals, and that he succeeded his mother Homai or Parysatis, who might reign conjointly with Darius Nothus, whether as her husband or her son.* The banishment of Queen Parysatis to Babylon, in the reign of her son

* The degree of power which the Persian queens of this period seem to have enjoyed, as well as the use they made of it, and the incestuous character of some of the royal marriages, remind us of the Cleopatras of Egypt. Hence, in part, may arise the confusion of the narrative. Sir John Malcolm supposes that the Ochus who succeeded Artaxerxes Mnemon, may have been Darab I. Homai is said to have made Persepolis her capital; and the celebrated hall called *Chehel-minar* (Forty Pillars), at Istakhr, was, we are told, built by this queen.

Artaxerxes, may answer to the abdication of Queen Homai.

This is a most obscure epoch in the native annals. The Egyptian war which broke out in the reign of Darius Nothus, the revolt of the Medes, and the part taken by Persia in the Peloponnesian war, are not referred to. Even the name of the younger Cyrus is not noticed by any of the oriental writers, nor is the slightest allusion made to the celebrated expedition which has given immortality to its commander. The pages of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon leave little room, however, for regret that these events have not found an oriental historian.

With respect to the second Darab of the Persians, who is made the immediate successor of the first, his identity with the Darius Codomanus of the Greeks is completely established by the conquest of Persia during his reign by Alexander of Macedon. The intermediate reigns of Artaxerxes Ochus, the most barbarous and abandoned monarch of his race, and of his son Arses, both of whom were assassinated, appear to be passed over, or to be included in that of Darab I.* The character of Ochus seems, however, to have been transferred by the Persians to the unfortunate and noble-minded Darius, who is alleged to have been deformed in body and depraved in mind; as if, Sir John Malcolm remarks, “to reconcile the vanity of the nation to the tale of its subjugation.” It is never-

* The reign of this Darab is distinguished in the native annals, by the breaking out of a war with Philippous of Roum (Macedon), which, though at first unsuccessful, is stated to have terminated gloriously for the Persians; and Philip was glad to make peace, on the terms of giving his daughter to Darab, and becoming his tributary. This daughter is fabled to have been the mother of the Macedonian conqueror. Darab I. built Darabjird, a city about 150 miles E. of Shiraz.—MALCOLM, vol. i. p. 69.

theless true, that the crimes of their monarchs, the mal-administration into which the affairs of the government had fallen, the assassinations and massacres occasioned by the repeated disputes for the succession, and the slender bond which held together the various provinces of so gigantic an empire, had prepared the way for its easy dissolution.

The traditions which the eastern writers have preserved of the Macedonian hero, (whom they call Secunder and Iskandeer,) are very imperfect; and upon a few historical facts, they have reared a superstructure of the most extravagant fable. They agree, however, with the Greek writers in most of the leading facts; such as the invasion of Persia, the defeat and subsequent death of Darius, the generosity of the conqueror, and the strong impression which his noble and humane conduct made upon his dying enemy. They allude, too, to the alliance which Alexander established with Taxilis or Omphis, to his battle with Porus, and his expedition against the Scythians; but the circumstances in which these events are disguised, are for the most part fabulous. "His great name," says Sir John Malcolm, "has been considered sufficient to obtain credit for every story that imagination could invent; but this exaggeration is almost all praise. The Secunder of the Persian page is a model of every virtue and of every great quality that can elevate a human being above his species; while his power and magnificence are always represented as far beyond what has ever been attained by any other monarch in the world."

The quarrel between the two monarchs originated, according to the author of the *Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh*, in Alexander's refusing to pay the tribute of golden eggs to which his father had agreed, returning the laconic

answer by the Persian envoy, that "the bird that laid the eggs had flown to the other world." Upon this, another ambassador was despatched to the court of the Macedonian, bearing the present of a bat and ball, in ridicule of Alexander's youth, and a bag of very small seed called *gunjud*, as an emblem of the innumerable army with which he was threatened. Alexander, taking the bat and ball in his hand, compared the one to his own power, and the other to the Persian's dominion; and the fate which would await the invaders, was intimated by giving the grain to a fowl. In return, he sent the Persian monarch the significant present of a bitter melon.*

The Persian writers give no detailed account of the operations of Alexander in Persia, erroneously stating, that Darius was killed in the first action. In this rapid sketch, it will be sufficient to advert to the order of the leading events. Having subdued the refractory cities of Greece, Alexander crossed the Hellespont in the year 334 B.C., with a force amounting, it is said, to no more than 30,000 foot and 5000 horse, but with which he gained a victory over five times that number on the banks of the Granicus. The following year, he reduced Phrygia to obedience, and afterwards the whole of Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and Cappadocia. The battle of Issus, in November of the same year, decided the fate of Syria. Darius himself

* Malcolm, vol. i. p. 71. "Messages of this character," it is remarked, "are not uncommon among Asiatic monarchs; and we have a popular instance in our own traditions, of one which bears a very extraordinary similarity to that now related"—the message from the Dauphin to Henry of Agincourt, as given by Shakspeare, to which the King replies (act i. sc. 2):

"When we have matched our rackets to these balls,
We will, in France, by God's grace, play a set
Shall strike his father's crown into the hazard."

narrowly escaped, with the loss of all his baggage and treasures, and a hundred thousand Persians who were left on the field of battle. The siege of Tyre detained the conqueror for seven months, and afforded the Persians a respite. On the reduction of that city, of which he made a dreadful example, Alexander marched against Jerusalem, with the intention of chastising the Jews in a similar manner for withstanding his commands ; but, at the sight of the Jewish high-priest, who, in his pontifical robes, with all the priests in solemn procession, came forth to meet him, the royal Gentile was struck with a profound awe, and relenting from his vindictive purpose, offered sacrifice in the temple to Jehovah. In explanation of this sudden change of conduct, he is reported to have declared, that, while he was yet deliberating on undertaking the war against Persia, that very person, in the same pontifical habit, had appeared to him in a dream, and had promised that God would give him the empire of the Persians. Jaddua, the high-priest, then shewed him, in the prophecies of Daniel, the prediction, that the Persian empire should be overthrown by a Grecian king ; and Alexander departed from Jerusalem with the assurance that he was the person destined to accomplish the prophecy. As a mark of his satisfaction, he conferred upon the Jews the extraordinary privilege of an exemption from tribute every sabbatical year, with the free enjoyment of their laws and religion. He then proceeded to Gaza,* where the Persian garrison made an obstinate defence ; and during the siege, which occupied two months, Alexander himself

* Josephus states, that Alexander went from Tyre immediately to Gaza, which is not improbable, Jerusalem *not* lying "in the way," as Prideaux represents. Other historians, however, state that he took Gaza in his way to Egypt.

was twice wounded. His barbarous revenge on the valiant defender of this city, Betis, in which he boasted of imitating the conduct of Achilles towards Hector, and his savage cruelty towards the rest of the inhabitants, have left a dark stain upon his character. Having slain ten thousand of the men, he is stated to have sold all the rest, with their wives and children, into slavery. He then marched to Pelusium, where he was received by the Egyptians as a deliverer. Memphis opened her gates at his approach, and he became master of the whole country without opposition. Before he left Egypt, he visited the temple of Jupiter Ammon, in the Libyan desert, for the purpose of consulting its far-famed oracle, in imitation of the conduct of Perseus and Hercules ; and intoxicated with ambition, he did not disdain to receive the cunning flatteries of the priests, who assured him that he was the son of their God. On his return to Egypt, he is said to have founded the city of Alexandria ; but the more ancient city of Racotis appears to have occupied the same site : its name only, it is probable, was changed in honour of the conqueror, who conferred distinguished privileges on the citizens, and made it the capital of the country.

From Egypt, Alexander returned through Palestine to Tyre, where he made his preparations for the invasion of Persia, having, in the mean time, rejected repeated overtures for peace from Darius. The Persian monarch, finding all negotiation fruitless, had now collected an immense army, including levies from the most distant provinces, and amounting, it is said, to 40,000 cavalry, a million of foot, 200 chariots, and 15 elephants. With these, he awaited the invader on the banks of the Bumadus, about 600 *stadia* from Arbela. The victory, for some time, hung in suspense, but at

length, the compact and disciplined force of the Macedonian phalanx prevailed over the immense disparity of numbers. A dreadful slaughter of the Persians ensued ; and Darius made a precipitate flight to Ecbatana, leaving all his royal equipage as spoil to the conqueror. From Arbela, Alexander proceeded to Babylon, which immediately surrendered, and he gave orders for the rebuilding of the temples which Xerxes had destroyed. Susa also, with all the royal treasure, was delivered up at his approach. Persepolis was given up to be sacked by the soldiery, the castle and palace only being reserved, which Alexander made his winter-quarters ; but to these, he is stated to have set fire, in a drunken carousal, at the instigation of an Athenian courtesan, in revenge of the burning of Athens by Xerxes.

In the following spring, Alexander proceeded to Ecbatana, where Darius still made a stand ; but, on reaching that city, he found that the Persian monarch had been carried off a prisoner by his own subjects eight days before. He pursued him to Rhages, where he halted for five days ; and then, entering the Caspian Straits, marched into Parthia, where he at length overtook the fugitives. On perceiving Alexander to be at hand, the Persian officers who had charge of Darius, resolved to prevent his falling alive into the hands of the conqueror. He was found lying in his chariot, mortally wounded in several places, and expired before Alexander could come up to him. At the sight of the corpse, Alexander is reported to have shed tears, and, casting his own cloak over it, ordered it to be carried to Susa, to be interred with royal honours.*

* The death of Darius is fixed in the year 328 B.C., being 209 years from the union of the Median and Persian monarchies under Cyrus.

Following up his conquests with astonishing celerity, Alexander received the submission of Parthia and Hyrcania, and overran a great part of the country of the Mardi. He rested for a fortnight at Zendracarte, the capital of Hyrcania, and then marched into Aria, on hearing that the governor had armed the country against him. The conquest of the Arii was followed by that of the *Zarangæi* (or Drangians), the *Arachoti* (or Aracausians), and the other nations of Eastern Persia. The Conqueror is described as passing over Mount Caucasus, by which is meant the Parapamisan mountains, and as founding a city there, with the name of Alexandria.* On learning that Bessus, one of the murderers of Darius, who had assumed the title of Artaxerxes, was at the head of a considerable force in Bactria, he hastened into that province, notwithstanding the depth of the snow, and the suffering to which the army was exposed from the want of provisions. At his approach, Bessus retired beyond the Oxus; Bactra (Balkh) and Aornus (Talekan?) immediately submitted; and on his crossing the Oxus, which he is stated to have accomplished on rafts of stuffed hides, Bessus was given up to his vengeance.† The entire reduction of the province of Sogdiana is said to have

* Scanderie in Ar-rokhaje, otherwise named Vailhend.—D'ANVILLE.

† Respecting the manner in which Bessus was punished, the Greek historians are strangely at variance. Diodorus states, that he was delivered by Alexander to Oxathres, the brother of Darius, to inflict on him what punishment he pleased. Plutarch tells us, that his body was, by Alexander's order, tied to two tall straight trees, which were bound down so as to meet, and then allowed to spring back so as to tear him asunder. Sir John Malcolm remarks, that this mode of executing criminals is still occasionally used in Persia. The accounts given by Arrian and Curtius differ from those of both Plutarch and Diodorus.—See ROOKE'S *Arrian*, vol. i. b. 4, c. 7.

occupied a year. While lying at Maracanda (Samar-cand), the capital, he slew his favourite general Clitus, in a quarrel that took place at a Bacchanalian festival. At Nautaca (supposed to be Nek-shab), where he established his winter-quarters, he gave his army rest for three months; and while resposing here from the fatigues of war, he encouraged his Macedonians to follow their monarch's example in choosing wives from among the Persian ladies. He had fallen in love with a beautiful captive, Roxana, the daughter of a noble Persian,* and he resolved to make her his queen; an act which was considered as entitling him to the praise of the noblest generosity.

While thus engaged in nuptial festivities, this insatiable conqueror was projecting an expedition into India, in emulation of his elder brothers Bacchus and Hercules. In the spring of 327 B.C., he crossed the Indus, beyond which we forbear to trace his conquests. On his return, through the scorching deserts of Gedrosia, he lost a great part of his army, who fell victims to the want of water and provisions and the madness of their vain-glorious leader. To conceal this disaster, and to give the appearance of triumph to his Indian expedition, on arriving at the province of Carmania, he marched in a Bacchanalian procession for seven successive days, in imitation of the fabled Dionysus; thus affecting to keep up his character as the son of Jupiter. Here he received the report of his admiral, Nearchus, who had coasted all the country from the mouth of the Indus to the island of Harmuzia (Ormuzd) in the Persian Gulf. Learning that

* The Roushunuk of the Persian writers, the final *k* being a diminutive often added by way of endearment: she is made, however, the daughter of Darius, being confounded, apparently, with Statira.

great disorders had taken place during his absence in India, whence it was expected that he would never return, he caused a number of the offenders to be executed, and restored tranquillity to the provinces. On arriving at Pasargadæ, his indignation was excited at finding that the sepulchre of Cyrus had been violated; and the governor of the province, being falsely accused of authorising it, was put to death. At Susa, where he had left the captive family of Darius, he took to wife Statira, the eldest daughter, giving the younger to his favourite Hephestion. Thence he sailed down the Eulæus, and proceeded to Opis on the Tigris, where he shewed much address and self-command in suppressing a mutiny which broke out among his Macedonian veterans, in consequence of the partiality which he was accused of manifesting towards the Asiatic soldiery. From Opis, he marched to Ecbatana, where Hephestion died in consequence of a surfeit produced by intoxication; a warning which was lost upon his intemperate master. To divert his grief occasioned by this loss, Alexander led his army against the Cossæans of the Median mountains. Having, in a war of forty days, brought them into subjection, he crossed the Tigris, and marched to Babylon, where he resolved to fix the seat of his empire. On his approach, the magi are said to have warned him against entering that city, several signs portending that it would prove fatal to him; but he contemned the omen. Nearly a year elapsed, which was partly occupied in forming new projects for the circumnavigation of Africa, the conquest of Arabia and Carthage, and the improvement of Babylon, where he purposed to repair in the most magnificent manner the temple of Belus; but the greater part of his time was spent in dissipation and debaucheries, to which,

if not to poison, he fell a victim, like his friend Hephæstion, and expired in the spring of the year 323 B.C., in the thirty-third year of his age ; thus closing, with the death of a drunkard, the career of a vain-glorious madman. “ God having ordained him to be his instrument,” remarks the learned Prideaux, “ for the bringing to pass of all that which was by the prophet Daniel foretold concerning him, he did by his providence bear him through in all things for the accomplishment of it, and, when that was done, did cast him out of his hand.” *

According to the Persian historians, a short time before his death, Alexander divided the provinces of Persia among the princes of that country, restoring to each his former possessions on the tenure of military

* According to Persian authors, Alexander died at Zour (Siazuros) in Kourdistan, though some state that he died at Baboul. He is stated to have been thirty-six years of age at the time of his death, and to have reigned six years over Persia. His body was embalmed and, according to the *Zeenut-ul-Tarikh*, first put into a golden coffin, but afterwards, at the express command of his mother, put into one of Egyptian marble.—See MOD. TRAV., *Egypt*, vol. i. p. 207. The account which this Author gives of his death is as follows: “ The astrologers had foretold, that, when Alexander’s death was near, he would place his throne upon a spot where the ground was of iron and the sky of gold. When the hero, fatigued with conquest, directed his march towards Greece, he was one day seized with a bleeding at the nose. A general, who was near, unlacing his coat of mail, spread it for the prince to sit upon ; and, in order to defend him from the sun, held a golden shield over his head. When Alexander saw himself in this situation, he exclaimed: ‘ The prediction of the astrologers is accomplished. I no longer belong to the living ! Alas ! that the work of my youth should be finished ! Alas ! that the plant of the spring should be cut down like the ripened tree of autumn ! ’ ”—MALCOLM, vol. i. p. 79. The Persian authors add, that he left a son Askanderous, but that he did not succeed to any part of his father’s power, having devoted himself to study, under the tuition of the celebrated Aristotle.

service. Darius is said to have left a brother, who, according to one account, was nominated by Alexander to the sovereignty of Persia, or more probably to some provincial government. The Greek writers tell us, that, in the division of the empire among his generals, which took place upon the death of Alexander, Babylon fell to the share of Seleucus, the founder of the Syro-Macedonian dynasty. For some time, however, the better fortune of his rival Antigonus prevailed. The latter, after the death of Eumenes, is represented as being master of all Asia, from the Hellespont to the Indus. Seleucus saved himself from his jealousy by joining Ptolemy in Egypt, whence, having raised a small army, he returned to Babylon, and was immediately joined by all the inhabitants of the province. Media, Susiana, and the neighbouring provinces soon fell into his hands; and so firmly were his power and popularity established in those parts by the justice and clemency of his government, that he grew up to be the greatest of all Alexander's successors. We are told, that he subsequently reduced under him Persia, Bactria, Hyrcania, and all the countries on the Persian side of the Indus, which had been conquered by Alexander.

The famous era of the Seleucidæ,* made use of all over the East by Christians, Jews, Mohammedans, and heathens, dates from the retaking of Babylon by Seleucus, B.C. 312. Seleucus did not, however, as-

* Called, in the Books of the Maccabees (i. 10), "The Era of the kingdom of the Greeks," by which those writers compute. The Jews call it "The Era of Contracts," because they were compelled to use it in all their contracts. By the Arabs, it is called *Tarikh Dilkarnain*, the Era of the Two-horned, in allusion to the horned statues of Seleucus, in which he imitated Alexander, who is thus represented on his coins, and who in the Koran is frequently called the Two-horned.—See PRIDEAUX, vol. i. p. 768.

sume the title of king, till six or seven years later, after he had established himself in his Persian dominions, when he adopted the proud surname of Nicator, the Conqueror. He was the last survivor of Alexander's captains. On the death of Lysimachus, whom he defeated and slew, he entered Macedonia, to take possession of that kingdom, and with the intention, it is said, to close his days there; but was basely assassinated, B.C. 280, being upwards of eighty years of age.

He was succeeded in his Asiatic empire by his son Antiochus Soter, who reigned nineteen years, and left his throne to his son, Antiochus Theus. In his reign (B.C. 250) a tributary prince or chief of the name of Ashk or Arsaces, slew the viceroy of Parthia, and raised the standard of revolt.* The governor of Bactria at the same time declared his independence, and the Syro-Macedonian monarchy was soon bounded by the Tigris. Ashk, whom the native writers make to have been a descendant of one of the former kings of Persia, is stated to have obtained the aid of his countrymen, by informing them that he was in possession of the sacred banner, the *Durufsh-e-Kawancee*, which his uncle had saved and concealed when Darius was defeated. After he had slain the viceroy, he fixed

* The five centuries during which the two branches of the Arsacidæ governed the country, are reduced to less than three by Persian writers. Ferdousi passes it over as one of which no trace of history had been preserved, stating, that, for two centuries, Persia, distracted by internal wars, might be considered as a nation without a sovereign. This circumstance, Sir John Malcolm remarks, tends to prove, that, however he may have indulged his imagination in the embellishment of his subject, Ferdousi was scrupulous in taking the substance or ground-work from the Pehlivi manuscripts, from which he composed his poem; and it may therefore be assumed, that they contained no mention of the Parthian dynasties.

his residence at Rhé, where he invited all the chiefs of provinces to join him in a war against the Seleucides ; promising at the same time, to exact from them no tribute, and to deem himself only the head of a confederacy of princes, having for their common object to maintain their separate independence, and to free Persia from a foreign yoke. Such was the commencement of that era of Persian history which is termed by the oriental writers, the *Mulouk ul Towâeif*, or commonwealth of tribes, and which extends over nearly five centuries. Pliny states, that the Parthian (meaning the Persian) empire was divided into eighteen kingdoms. The accounts of this period given by Persian writers, are vague and contradictory. “ They have evidently,” Sir John Malcolm remarks, “ no materials to form an authentic narrative ; and it is too near the date at which their real history commences, to admit of their indulging in fable. Their pretended history of the Ashkanians and Ashganians, is, consequently, little more than a mere catalogue of names ; and even respecting these and the dates they assign to the different princes, hardly two authors are agreed. Ashk the First is said to have reigned fifteen years : Khondemir allows him only ten. Some authors ascribe the defeat and capture of Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, to this monarch ; and others to his son, Ashk II. The latter prince was succeeded by his brother Shahpoor (or Sapor), who, after a long contest with Antiochus the Great, in which he experienced several reverses, concluded a treaty of peace with that monarch, by which his right to Parthia and Hyrcania was recognised. From the death of this prince, there appears to be a lapse of two centuries in the Persian annals ; for they inform us, that his successor was Baharam Gudurz ; and if this is the prince whom the

western writers term Gutarzes, as there is every reason to conclude it is, we know from authentic history, that he was the third prince of the second dynasty of the Arsacides, and it was he who revenged the death of John the Baptist upon the Israelites.*

“ From the death of Alexander till the reign of Artaxerxes (Ardisheer Babigan), is nearly five centuries ; and the whole of that remarkable era may be termed a blank in eastern history. And yet, when we refer to the pages of Roman writers, we find this period abounds with events of which the vainest nation might be proud ; and that Parthian monarchs, whose names cannot now be discovered in the history of their own country,† were the only sovereigns upon whom the Roman arms, when that nation was in the very zenith of its power, could make no impression. But this, no doubt, may be attributed to other causes than the skill and valour of the Persians. It was to the nature of their country, and their singular mode of warfare, that they owed those frequent advantages which they gained over the disciplined legions of Rome. The frontier which the kingdom of Parthia presented to the Roman empire, extended from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf. It consists of lofty and barren mountains, of rapid and broad streams, and of wide-spreading deserts. In whatever direction the legions of Rome advanced, the country was laid waste. The war was made, not against the army, but the supplies by which it was supported ; and the mode in

* The eastern writers pretend, that the destruction of Jerusalem was accomplished by direction of the Persian monarch, to avenge the death of John, the son of Zechariah.

† “ The name of Mithridates is not mentioned ; nor that of Orodes, in whose reign Crassus was defeated ; nor Surena, the general by whom that great victory was obtained.”

which the Parthian warrior took his unerring aim, while his horse was carrying him from his enemy, may be viewed as a personification of the system of warfare by which his nation, during this era of its history, maintained its independence. The system was suited to the soil, to the man, and to the fleet and robust animal on which he was mounted; and its success was so certain, that the bravest veterans of Rome murmured when their leaders talked of a Parthian war." *

The blank which occurs in the native annals, may be accounted for, Sir John Malcolm thinks, by the neglect into which the rites of Zoroaster fell during the dynasty of the Arsacides, and the decay of letters consequent upon the depression of the priesthood. In that nation, as in others similarly circumstanced, the literati and the priesthood were synonymous terms; and as the priests alone cultivated letters, so they would be prompted to avenge themselves on the enemies of their faith and order, by consigning their race, so far as they had the power, to oblivion.† The Arsacides, Gibbon affirms, (but without citing his authority,) "practised indeed the worship of the magi, but they disgraced and polluted it with a various mixture of foreign idolatry." Who the Parthians really were, as regards their origin, and whence they proceeded, can only be conjectured. Justin describes them as Scythian refugees, the word Parthian signifying exile in their native language;‡ but the

[* Malcolm, i. pp. 84—8.

† A similar chasm occurs in the Egyptian annals, during the dynasty of Cheops, for which a similar cause has been assigned, their hostility to the religion and priesthood of the country.—See MOD. TRAV. *Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 73, 359.

‡ *Parthi Scytharum exules fuerunt. Hoc etiam ipsorum vocabulo manifestatur, nam Scythico sermone Parthi Exules dicuntur.*—

question returns, what was that native language? Strabo affirms, that "the Parthians whose territories were upon the banks of the Tigris, were formerly called Carduchi."* But this would seem to mean, that these Parthians occupied the Carduchian territory; for it is evident, that the western writers, who alone use the appellation Parthia, understood by it a region eastward of the Caspian Gates, and that they supposed the Parthians to be of Scythian origin. It is possible, however, that if they were originally Kourds, Parthyene might derive its name from a settlement of that nation who had emigrated from the west to the east, and established themselves in the plains of the Ochus. It is remarkable, that the inscriptions on all the coins that have been preserved of the Parthian kings, are in the Greek language, while those of the Sassanian dynasty which succeeded them, are in the ancient language of Persia. It would

JUSTIN, lib. xli. Sir John Malcolm states, that he has been unable to trace its etymology. It is strange, that these Parthians should have assumed the name of exiles: that they should have been called so in the language of the country they came to, would have been more natural. Calmet supposes the word to come from *Perashim*, horsemen.

* Cited by Sir John Malcolm. Possibly, this is a mistake for the Cadusians. Cellarius describes Parthia as lying between Media, Hyrcania, Ariana, and Carmania Déserta, which would make it form the western part of Khorasan. In Acts ii. 9, the Parthians are mentioned in a connexion which implies that their *language* differed from the dialects of the Medes and Elamites, and those Parthians were *Jews*. It is evident, that the word Parthian is frequently used as synonymous with Persian, or instead of it; and by a mere substitution of the *s* for the *th*, Parsian would be pronounced Parthian. That these nations were very distinct, is proved, however, by the difference in their religion. The Parthian monarchs are stated to have introduced the worship of deified heroes; a species of idolatry which, as prevailing among the Scythians, strengthens the opinion that they were a branch or offset of that nation.

seem from this, that the Arsacides, as they assumed the proudest state and the highest titles, affected also to adopt the language of the Macedonian conqueror: at the same time, it strengthens the presumption that they were strangers in Persia, and that they spoke an unwritten dialect. Notwithstanding the greatness which some monarchs of this race attained, "there is nothing left," Sir John Malcolm remarks, "that can rescue it from the reproach of being a barbarous epoch, and one in which we can discover but few traces or monuments that are calculated to perpetuate the glory either of the sovereigns that reigned, or the country which they governed."

According to the western historians, it was under Mithridates I., the fourth in descent and the fifth in succession of the Arsacides, that the Parthian power was raised to its highest pitch of greatness. That monarch, "having subdued the Medes, the Elymeans, the Persians, and the Bactrians, extended his dominions into India beyond the boundaries of Alexander's conquests; and having vanquished Demetrius, king of Syria, finally secured Babylonia and Mesopotamia also to his empire: so that thenceforth, he had the Euphrates on the west, as well as the Ganges on the east, for the limits of his empire." * Justin states, that this monarch, having conquered several nations, gathered from every one of them, whatsoever he found best in its constitution, and from the whole collection, framed a body of most wholesome laws for the government of his empire. † If one half of this be true, what is history, that it should have preserved no more minute record of such a sovereign?

* Diodorus Siculus and Justin. Prideaux, vol. ii. p. 404. Demetrius was taken prisoner in the year 141 B.C.

† *Ib.* p. 405.

In the reign of Phraates, his successor, this vast empire appears to have shrunk again within "the narrow limits of the first Parthian kingdom," in consequence of the successes of the Syrian monarch (Antiochus Sidetes), on the one side, and the inroads of the Scythians on the other. He was succeeded, about B.C. 128, by Mithridates the Great, who restored some degree of splendour to the Parthian name. But, a hundred years later, we find Phraates, king of Parthia, sending ambassadors to Augustus, to propose, as the price of his friendship, the restoration of all the prisoners and ensigns that had been taken from the Romans, in the wars of Crassus and Antony. Such was the fallen state of that which represented the Persian empire, only twenty years before the Christian era! In the reign of the Emperor Trajan, the Parthian monarch Khosrou was involved in a war with the Romans, in which he lost his capital, Ctesiphon; but, on the death of Trajan, Khosrou concluded a peace with his successor Hadrian, which restored to him his possessions. He was succeeded by Vologeses II. and III., the latter of whom carried on a war with the Emperor Severus, and left his crown to his son Arduan or Artabanus V., who was engaged in a war with the Romans, before he was attacked and slain by the celebrated Ardisheer (Artaxerxes I.), the founder of the Sassanian dynasty.

"Ardisheer Babigan (the son of Babek) was, we are told, a descendant of Sassan, the son of Bahman, and grandson of Isfundeer.* His father was an inferior officer in the public-service. The governor of Darabjird, whose name was Peri, learned that Babek

* Other authors assign him a less noble origin, and Gibbon makes him to have been at once of low extraction and of illegitimate birth.

had a son who, though quite a youth, was already distinguished for genius and courage. He sent for him ; and the abilities of Ardisheer recommended him so much to Peri, that, whenever any cause prevented his attending to the duties of his government, he committed the charge to the young favourite ; who gained so much credit by his conduct upon these occasions, that, when Peri died, he was appointed his successor. It is not surprising, that a youth like Ardisheer, whose rise had been so rapid, should have formed the most ambitious schemes. We are told, that his imagination presented to him, in his sleep, the shadow of his waking thoughts ; and these dreams of glory were interpreted by flatterers into certain presages of future success. All historians agree, that it was the belief in such visions, that first led him to attempt the throne of Persia : and if their truth was seriously believed by him and his followers, there can be no doubt that they must have aided him in attaining the splendid destiny which they promised.

“ The first efforts of Ardisheer to seize the kingdom, were supported by his father, Babek, who, after putting to death the governor appointed by Arduan, made himself master of the province of Fars. But Babek was partial to his eldest son Shahpoor, and proclaimed him ruler of that province. The old man survived but a short time. Ardisheer, the moment his father died, advanced against his brother, who was seized by his relations, and put into his hands.* After settling the province of Fars, Ardisheer undertook an

* There is some confusion in this statement. We are not told what he did with Shahpoor, but he is said to have put the conspirators to death, while he profited by their treachery. That Babek should at once support and oppose his son Ardisheer, is strange, Istakhr appears to have been the capital of Fars at this period.

expedition against Kerman, which he subdued. He appears to have met with hardly any opposition in his first enterprises ; and he not only made himself master of Isfahan, but of almost all Irak, before Arduan took the field against him. This prince remained in the mountainous country about Hamadan and Kerman-shah, till he was compelled, by the success of Ardisheer, either to oppose his further progress, or to abandon his throne. He resolved to put all to the hazard of one action. The armies met in the plain of Hoormuz (between Shuster and Bebahan), where a desperate battle ensued, in which Arduan lost his crown and his life ; and the son of Babek was hailed in the field with the proud title of *Shahan Shah* (King of Kings) ; a name which has ever since been assumed by the sovereigns of Persia.” *

Such is the account drawn by Sir John Malcolm from the Persian writers, of the wonderful revolution which restored the empire of Cyrus and the religion of Zoroaster. This great event took place in the fourth year of the Emperor Severus, 226 years after the Christian era. The florid pages of Gibbon supply the following brief history of the leading events of this reign.

One of the first acts of the monarch was to summon the dispersed magi from all parts of his dominions.

* The more probable account given by Dion Cassius and the authorities followed by Gibbon, is, that the Parthians were defeated in three successive battles, in the last of which their king Artaban was slain. “The authority of Artaxerxes,” it is added, “was solemnly acknowledged in a great assembly held at Balkh. Two younger branches of the royal house of Arsaces were confounded among the prostrate satraps. A third attempted to retire with a numerous train of vassals, towards their kinsman the king of Armenia ; but this little army was intercepted and cut off by the vigilance of the conqueror.”

On the appointed day, they appeared, to the number of 80,000.* Out of this unmanageable multitude, a synod was at length chosen, consisting of forty persons, of whom seven appear to have been invested with a supreme authority. Directed by their counsels, Artaxerxes issued an edict prohibiting the exercise of every form of worship except that of Zoroaster. "The temples of the Parthians and the statues of their deified monarchs, were thrown down with ignominy. The sword of Aristotle (such was the name given by the Orientals to the polytheism and philosophy of the Greeks) was easily broken; the flames of persecution soon reached the more stubborn Jews and Christians; nor did they spare the heretics of their own nation and religion. This spirit of persecution reflects dishonour on the religion of Zoroaster; but, as it was not productive of any civil commotion, it served to strengthen the new monarchy, by uniting all the various inhabitants of Persia in the bands of religious zeal.

"Artaxerxes," continues Gibbon, "by his valour and conduct, had wrested the sceptre of the East from the ancient royal family of Parthia. There still remained the more difficult task of establishing throughout the vast extent of Persia, a uniform and vigorous administration. The active victor, at the head of a numerous and disciplined army, visited, in person, every province of Persia. The defeat of the boldest rebels, and the reduction of the strongest fortifications, diffused the terror of his arms, and prepared the way for the peaceful reception of his authority.....His

* Round numbers and round assertions like these, are of a suspicious character. Eighty thousand is given as the inconsiderable number to which the schismatics of the empire were subsequently reduced.

kingdom was on every side bounded by the sea or by great rivers ; by the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes, the Oxus, and the Indus, by the Caspian Sea and the Gulf of Persia.*

“ As soon as the ambitious mind of Artaxerxes had triumphed over the resistance of his vassals, he began to threaten the neighbouring states, who, during the long slumber of his predecessors, had insulted Persia with impunity. He obtained some easy victories over the wild Scythians and the effeminate Indians ; but the Romans were an enemy who, by their past injuries and present power, deserved the utmost efforts of his arms. A forty years’ tranquillity, the fruit of valour and moderation, had succeeded the victories of Trajan. During the period that elapsed from the accession of Marcus, to the reign of Alexander, the Roman and the Parthian empires were twice engaged in war ; and although the whole strength of the Arsacides contended with a part only of the forces of Rome, the event was most commonly in favour of the latter. Macrinus, indeed, prompted by his precarious situation and pusillanimous temper, purchased a peace at the expense of near two millions of our money ; but the generals of Marcus, the Emperor Severus, and his son, erected many trophies in Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria.

“ Seleucia, on the western bank of the Tigris, about forty-five miles to the north of ancient Babylon, was the capital of the Macedonian conquests in Upper Asia. Many ages after the fall of their empire,

* Properly speaking, the Euphrates formed no part of the boundary, as Mesopotamia remained in the possession of the Romans. Ardisheer is said to have founded a city upon the banks of the Tigris. Sir John Malcolm thinks it probable, that he found Madain (Ctesiphon) in ruins, and restored it to its former grandeur,

Seleucia retained the genuine characters of a Grecian colony, arts, military virtue, and the love of freedom. The independent republic was governed by a senate of three hundred nobles; the people consisted of six hundred thousand citizens; the walls were strong, and as long as concord prevailed among the several orders of the state, they viewed with contempt the power of the Parthian; but the madness of faction was sometimes provoked to implore the dangerous aid of the common enemy, who was posted almost at the gates of the colony. The Parthian monarchs, like the Mogul sovereigns of Hindostan, delighted in the pastoral life of their Scythian ancestors; and the Imperial camp was frequently pitched in the plain of Ctesiphon, on the eastern bank of the Tigris, at the distance of only three miles from Seleucia. The innumerable attendants on luxury and despotism resorted to the court, and the little village of Ctesiphon insensibly swelled into a great city. Under the reign of Marcus, the Roman generals penetrated as far as Ctesiphon and Seleucia. They were received as friends by the Greek colony; they attacked as enemies, the seat of the Parthian kings; yet, both cities experienced the same treatment. The sack and conflagration of Seleucia, with the massacre of three hundred thousand of the inhabitants, tarnished the glory of the Roman triumph. Seleucia, already exhausted by the neighbourhood of a too powerful rival, sunk under the fatal blow; but Ctesiphon, in about thirty-three years, had sufficiently recovered its strength, to maintain an obstinate siege against the Emperor Severus. The city was, however, taken by assault; the king, who defended it in person, escaped with precipitation; a hundred thousand captives, and a rich booty, rewarded the fatigues of the Roman

soldiers. Notwithstanding these misfortunes, Ctesiphon succeeded to Babylon and to Seleucia, as one of the great capitals of the East. In summer, the monarch of Persia enjoyed at Ecbatana the cool breezes of the mountains of Media; but the mildness of the climate engaged him to prefer Ctesiphon for his winter residence.

“From these successful inroads, the Romans derived no real or lasting benefit; nor did they attempt to preserve such distant conquests, separated from the provinces of the empire by a large tract of intermediate desert. The reduction of the kingdom of Osrhoene was an acquisition of less splendour, indeed, but of a far more solid advantage. That little state occupied the northern and most fertile part of Mesopotamia between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Edessa, its capital, was situated about twenty miles beyond the former of those rivers; and the inhabitants, since the time of Alexander, were a mixed race of Greeks, Arabs, Syrians, and Armenians. The feeble sovereigns of Osrhoene, placed on the dangerous verge of two contending empires, were attached from inclination to the Parthian cause; but the superior power of Rome exacted from them a reluctant homage, which is still attested by their medals. After the conclusion of the Parthian war under Marcus, it was judged prudent to secure some substantial pledges of their doubtful fidelity. Forts were constructed in several parts of the country, and a Roman garrison was fixed in the strong town of Nisibis. During the troubles that followed the death of Commodus, the princes of Osrhoene attempted to shake off the yoke; but the stern policy of Severus confirmed their dependence, and the perfidy of Caracalla completed the easy conquest. Abgarus, the last king of Edessa, was sent in

chains to Rome ; his dominions were reduced into a province, and his capital dignified with the rank of colony ; and thus the Romans, about ten years before the fall of the Parthian monarchy, obtained a firm and permanent establishment beyond the Euphrates.

“ Prudence as well as glory might have justified a war on the side of Artaxerxes, had his views been confined to the defence or the acquisition of a useful frontier. But the ambitious Persian openly avowed a far more extensive design of conquest ; and he thought himself able to support his lofty pretensions by the arms of reason as well as by those of power. Cyrus, he alleged, had first subdued, and his ancestors had for a long time possessed, the whole extent of Asia, as far as the Propontis and the Ægean Sea ; the provinces of Caria and Ionia, under their empire, had been governed by Persian satraps, and all Egypt, to the confines of Ethiopia, had acknowledged their sovereignty. Their rights had been suspended, though not destroyed, by a long usurpation ; and as soon as he received the Persian diadem, which birth and successful valour had placed upon his head, the first great duty of his station called upon him to restore the ancient limits and splendour of the monarchy. The Great King, therefore, (such was the haughty style of his embassies to the Emperor Alexander,) commanded the Romans instantly to depart from all the provinces of his ancestors, and yielding to the Persians the empire of Asia, to content themselves with the undisturbed possession of Europe. This haughty mandate was delivered by four hundred of the tallest and most beautiful of the Persians, who, by their fine horses, splendid arms, and rich apparel, displayed the pride and greatness of their master. Such an embassy was

much less an offer of negotiation than a declaration of war. Both Alexander Severus, and Artaxerxes, collecting the military force of the Roman and Persian monarchies, resolved, in this important contest, to lead their armies in person.

“ If we credit what should seem the most authentic of all records, an oration still extant, and delivered by the Emperor himself to the senate, we must allow that the victory of Alexander Severus was not inferior to any of those formerly obtained over the Persians by the son of Philip. The army of the Great King consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand horse, clothed in complete armour of steel, of seven hundred elephants, with towers filled with archers on their backs, and of eighteen hundred chariots armed with scythes. This formidable host, the like of which is not to be found in eastern history, and has scarcely been imagined in eastern romance, was discomfited in a great battle, in which the Roman Alexander approved himself an intrepid soldier and a skilful general. The Great King fled before his valour; an immense booty and the conquest of Mesopotamia, were the immediate fruits of this signal victory. Such are the circumstances of this ostentatious and improbable relation, dictated, as it too plainly appears, by the vanity of the monarch, adorned by the unblushing servility of his flatterers, and received without contradiction by a distant and obsequious senate. Far from being inclined to believe that the arms of Alexander obtained any memorable advantage over the Persians, we are induced to suspect that all this blaze of imaginary glory was designed to conceal some real disgrace.

“ Our suspicions are confirmed by the authority of a contemporary historian, who mentions the virtues of

Alexander with respect, and his faults with candour. He describes the judicious plan which had been formed for the conduct of the war. Three Roman armies were destined to invade Persia at the same time, and by different roads. But the operations of the campaign, though wisely concerted, were not executed either with ability or success. The first of these armies, as soon as it had entered the marshy plains of Babylon, towards the artificial conflux of the Euphrates and the Tigris, was encompassed by the superior numbers, and destroyed by the arrows, of the enemy. The alliance of Chosroes, king of Armenia, and the long tract of mountainous country, in which the Persian cavalry was of little service, opened a secure entrance into the heart of Media, to the second of the Roman armies. These brave troops laid waste the adjacent provinces, and, by several successful actions against Artaxerxes, gave a faint colour to the emperor's vanity. But the retreat of this victorious army was imprudent, or, at least, unfortunate. In repassing the mountains, great numbers of soldiers perished by the badness of the roads, and the severity of the winter season. It had been resolved, that while these two great detachments penetrated into the opposite extremes of the Persian dominions, the main body, under the command of Alexander himself, should support their attack, by invading the centre of the kingdom. But the inexperienced youth, influenced by his mother's counsels, and perhaps by his own fears, deserted the bravest troops and the fairest prospect of victory ; and after consuming in Mesopotamia an inactive and inglorious summer, he led back to Antioch an army diminished by sickness and provoked by disappointment.

“ The behaviour of Artaxerxes had been very dif-

ferent. Flying with rapidity from the hills of Media to the marshes of the Euphrates, he had every where opposed the invaders in person; and in either fortune, had united with the ablest conduct the most undaunted resolution. But in several obstinate engagements against the veteran legions of Rome, the Persian monarch had lost the flower of his troops. Even his victories had weakened his power. The favourable opportunities of the absence of Alexander, and of the confusion that followed that emperor's death, presented themselves in vain to his ambition. Instead of expelling the Romans, as he pretended, from the continent of Asia, he found himself unable to wrest from their hands the little province of Mesopotamia.

“ The reign of Artaxerxes, which, from the last defeat of the Parthians, lasted only fourteen years, forms a memorable era in the history of the East, and even in that of Rome. His character seems to have been marked by those bold and commanding features that generally distinguish the princes who conquer, from those who inherit an empire. Till the last period of the Persian monarchy, his code of laws was respected as the groundwork of their civil and religious policy. Several of his sayings are preserved. One of them in particular discovers a deep insight into the constitution of government. ‘ The authority of the prince,’ said Artaxerxes, ‘ must be defended by a military force; that force can only be maintained by taxes; all taxes must, at last, fall upon agriculture; and agriculture can never flourish, except under the protection of justice and moderation.’ * Artaxerxes

* “ The great Nousheerwan sent the Code of Artaxerxes to all his satraps, as the invariable rule of their conduct.” He is also stated to have had many copies of the *Karnameh* made and circulated, with a view of establishing order and morality in his empire.

bequeathed his new empire, and his ambitious designs against the Romans, to Sapor, a son not unworthy of his great father ; but those designs were too extensive for the power of Persia, and served only to involve both nations in a long series of destructive wars and reciprocal calamities." *

The Persian historians represent Ardisheer as resigning the government into the hands of his son Shahpoor before his death, being " sated with success and wearied of power." He is the reputed author of two remarkable works : one, entitled *Ul Karnameh*, gives an account of his travels and enterprises ; the other, written in Deri, contains lessons upon morality and rules of conduct. Ferdousi has given us the testament of this monarch, in the form of a dying charge to his son, in which occur the following remarkable sentiments : " Never forget that, as a king, you are at once the protector of religion and of your country. Consider the altar and throne as inseparable : they must always sustain each other. A sovereign without religion is a tyrant ; and a people who have none, may be deemed the most monstrous of societies. Religion may exist without a state, but a state cannot exist without religion ; and it is by its holy laws, that a political association can alone be bound." †

One of the first wars in which his son and successor was engaged, was against Manizen, an Arabian chieftain. Taking advantage of the absence of Shahpoor, who had been compelled to leave Irak in order to suppress a rebellion in Khorasan, that chief had seized upon the Persian part of Mesopotamia, and having strongly fortified his capital of Khadher, bade defiance to the Persian army. The treachery of his daughter, actuated

* Gibbon, ch. viii.

† Malcolm, vol. i. p. 95.

either by love or ambition, betrayed the place to Shahpoor; and in the dreadful carnage which ensued, Manizen, and every individual of the Arab garrison, perished. The unnatural traitress, instead of being raised to a throne, was delivered over to the executioner.*

After Shahpoor had subdued the upper part of the *Jezeerah*, he marched against Nisibis, which long held out against his efforts. On its fall, he carried his arms into the Roman territories, and at first gained

* This story, which Sir John Malcolm gives from the *Rozut-ul-Suffa*, is found, with some romantic embellishments, in the *Tarikh Tebry*; a work originally written in Arabic, but translated into Persian, of which Major D. Price has given an abstract in his "Essay towards the History of Arabia." 4to. 1824. This writer states, that on the extinction of the Ashkanian dynasty by Ardesheir Baubegan, the territory on the lower Tigris and Euphrates was taken possession of by certain Arabian tribes from Baharein, the maritime district sketching along the western coast of the Persian Gulf. They were not able, however, to extend their acquisitions beyond the passes of Hulwaun, the country eastward of that mountainous boundary being still in possession of the *Moulouk-e-Towáeif*; but they succeeded in making themselves masters, for a time, of all that lay between the straits of Hulwaun and the Tigris, and westward to Anbaur and Heirah, comprehending the whole of the territory from them called Irak-Arabi. It was in this part, not far from Tekreit, that there formerly stood the fortress of Khadher or Hazzer, which was believed to be impregnable, its construction having been effected under talismanic influence. It belonged to an Arabian prince of the name (or race) of Satroun, but who bore the title of Melek Zeiren, the Manizen of the Persian author. His daughter is said to have fallen in love with Shahpoor, on seeing him from the ramparts. Impelled by her disgraceful passion, she proposed to disclose to him the manner in which the spell that guarded the fortress might be dissolved, on his pledging his royal word to become her husband. Shahpoor is stated to have performed the condition to the letter; but the next morning, he directed the traitress to be tied by her beautiful hair to the tail of a wild horse, which was let loose into the desert. The carnage of Hazzer or Khadher, was long proverbial, and is the subject of many an Arabian elegy.—See PRICE'S *Essay*, pp. 110, 142—5.

several important victories, taking the Emperor Valerian prisoner (A.D. 260); and an emperor of his election wore, for a short period, the purple of Cæsar. A captive Roman army was compelled to receive with acclamation an obscure fugitive of Antioch, named Cyriadis, as their emperor; and the first act of the pageant was, to conduct Shahpoor by rapid marches to Antioch, the capital of the Roman empire in the East, which was taken and plundered. The Persian monarch treated in the same manner all the Roman provinces and towns he subdued, destroying, like a true barbarian, what he could not hope to preserve. His army, encumbered with spoils and captives, suffered greatly in their retreat, from the active valour of Odenathus, the monarch of Palmyra, whose proffered friendship, Shahpoor, in the hour of victory, had rejected with scorn. Joining the shattered remains of the Roman army in Syria, Odenathus routed the Persians in several engagements, and followed them to the gates of Ctesiphon. He returned from this expedition with considerable booty; and was, for his services, declared by Gallienus his co-partner in the empire.*

The reverses which the arms of this prince suffered in the latter part of his reign, are unnoticed by Persian historians. After his wars with the Romans, he is stated to have founded many cities, two of which received his name; Ni-shahpoor in Khorasan, and Shahpoor near Kazeroon in Fars. The former of these was founded, however, according to some authors, by Tahamurs, was destroyed by Alexander, and

* See Malcolm's History, vol. i. p. 96. Mod. Trav., Syria, vol. ii. pp. 22, 3.

rebuilt by Shahpoor: it is still a respectable city. Of the latter, no trace is left except the sculptured rocks, from which it appears, that this monarch was ambitious of perpetuating to the latest ages his victory over the Romans, and the glory he had acquired by leading captive one of the Cæsars.

Shahpoor was succeeded, A.D. 271, by his son Hoormuz (Hormisdas),* who, after the short reign of a year, left his throne to his son Baharam I. (Varanes I.); a mild and munificent prince, much beloved by his subjects. The most remarkable act of his reign, which lasted little more than three years, was the execution of the celebrated Manes, the founder of the sect of the Manichæans. This impostor had, in the reign of Shahpoor, made many converts, but was at length forced to flee the country, and travelled over Tatory and China. Baharam is stated to have shewn a disposition at first to favour the new doctrine; but the influence of the Magi at length prevailed, and the heresiarch, with almost all his disciples, was put

* This prince founded the city of Ram-Hoormuz (the Rest of Hoormuz), in the delightful valley of the Jerokh, where an orange-tree, which he is believed to have planted, is still highly venerated by the natives. A very extraordinary action is related of this prince "in the most authentic histories" of Persia. "His father, Shahpoor, had appointed him governor of Khorasan, where he had distinguished himself by repelling invaders, as well as by preserving the tranquillity of that unsettled and rebellious province. This conduct, however, did not prevent some envious and designing men from exciting suspicions of his son's fidelity in the breast of Shahpoor. Hoormuz was soon made acquainted with the success of his enemies. He saw the ruin that was impending; and caused one of his hands to be cut off, and sent it to his father, desiring him to accept that unquestionable mark of his devoted allegiance. Shahpoor, struck with horror at the act which his rash suspicions had led his son to commit, directed him to repair to court, and loaded him with every favour that an unbounded affection could bestow."—MALCOLM, vol. i. p. 100.

to death.* The doctrines taught by Manes, appear to have been a heterogeneous compound of Christianity, Magianism, and the metempsychosis of the Hindoos. Like Mohammed, he endeavoured to gain over the Christians by announcing himself as the promised Paraclete; but Manichæanism has not much better claims than the religion of the Koran, to rank as a *Christian* heresy.

In the reign of the indolent and luxurious Baharam II., the Roman emperor, Carus, crossed the Tigris (A.D. 288), and made himself master of Ctesiphon. The death of Carus alone saved the Persian kingdom from the invaders. The short reign of his son, the Varanes III. of Roman history, is passed over in the native annals. At the end of four months, he was succeeded by his brother Narsi (or Narses), who subdued almost all Armenia, and defeated Galerius, on the same field that had proved so fatal to the Roman legions under Crassus. But the next year, A.D. 297, the Romans advanced through the mountains of Armenia, and taking the Persians by surprise, overthrew them with great slaughter. The further progress of the invaders was arrested by a treaty of peace, the

* According to other authorities, the origin of his disgrace was, his having undertaken to cure the son of the Persian monarch: not succeeding, he was, upon the prince's death, thrown into prison, whence he made his escape. He is stated to have been protected by Hormizdas, who, unable otherwise to defend him against the united hatred of the Magi, the Christians, the Jews, and the Pagans, shut him up in a strong castle. Varanes I. was disposed at first to follow the example of his father, but afterwards gave him up to the fury of the Magi. On being apprehended, he was inhumanly flayed alive, and his skin was hung up at the gate of Shah-poor, at that time the seat of government. Epiphanius, who treats of the Manichæans at length, asserts, that the true name of the heresiarch was Cubricus, which he changed for *Manes*, signifying *Yessel*,

terms of which sufficiently indicate the reduced and humbled state of the Persian empire. The great province of Mesopotamia, or the *Jezeerah*, the object of so many wars, was finally ceded to the Romans, together with five districts east of the Tigris, including the greater part of Carduchia or Kourdistan, which had previously belonged to the kingdom of Armenia. As a compensation to Teridates,* the Armenian monarch, in defence of whom the war had been undertaken by his Roman allies, the Persians were compelled to cede the fine province of Atropatene or Aderbijan. Teridates, on taking possession of this territory, made Tabriz his capital, and greatly ornamented that city. The nomination of the sovereigns of Iberia was also resigned to the Romans.† “The East enjoyed a profound tranquillity during forty years; and the treaty between the rival monarchies was strictly observed till the death of Teridates; when a new generation, animated with different views and different passions, succeeded to the government of the world, and the grandson of Narses undertook a long and memorable war against the princes of the house of Constantine.”‡

The son and successor of Narsi was Hoormuz II., who ruled Persia for seven years and a half, and was succeeded by his posthumous son, Shahpoor II. || The

* “Probably *Teer-dad*, literally, the gift of the arrow; metaphorically, the gift of the planet Mercury, which is called *Teer*, or the arrow.”—MALCOLM.

† Malcolm, vol. i. p. 105. Gibbon, c. xiii. Four of the ceded provinces, to the north of the Tigris, were of inconsiderable extent, *viz.* Intilene, Zabdicene, Arzanene, and Moxoene. The fifth was the large mountainous territory of Carduene, E. of the Tigris.

‡ Gibbon.

|| The Arabian writers state, that Hormuz was waylaid and mas-

minority of this prince presented too favourable an opportunity to the surrounding nations to be resisted; and the empire was at once invaded by the Greeks, the Tatars, and the Arabs of Lachsa and Baharein. It was against the latter tribes that the first efforts of the youthful monarch were directed; and he derived his title of *Zoolaktaf*, or Lord of the Shoulders, from the cruel punishment which he inflicted upon his captives, whose shoulders he ordered to be pierced, and then dislocated by means of a string passed through them. This barbarous treatment of the Arabs is said to have been in retaliation for the horrid atrocities which they had committed in the province of Fars. Not satisfied with expelling them from that province, the youthful monarch pursued his career of vengeance, chasing them through the Arabian Desert to Yathreb, massacring every Arab he met with, and filling up all the wells in his march. From the Hedjaz, he continued his march into Syria as far as the coasts of the Mediterranean, and then turning northward, appeared before Aleppo, leaving in every direction marks of his destructive career. He at length returned to Ctesiphon.*

During the disorders which broke out among the Roman troops in the East, on the death of Constantine, Shahpoor, watching his opportunity, recovered several of the most important fortresses of Mesopotamia, and laid siege to Nisibis. The pusillanimous successor of Teridates purchased inglorious security by the resti-

sacred by a party of the Syrian Arabs of Ghassan, who, trusting to the protection of their Roman allies, had revolted against the Persian monarch. This circumstance would, in some measure, justify, or at least account for the vindictive measures taken by his son.—
See *MOD. TRAV., Arabia*, p. 32.

* *Mod. Trav., Arabia*, p. 33.

tution of Atropatene and the payment of an annual tribute. Nine bloody encounters are stated to have taken place between the armies of Shahpoor and Constantius, in two of which the Roman Emperor commanded in person. At the battle of Singara, the Romans were vanquished with a dreadful slaughter ; but the son of Shahpoor, the heir of his crown, was taken prisoner, and, after being inhumanly scourged and tortured, was publicly executed. The Persian monarch was recalled from his third attempt to reduce Nisibis, the bulwark of the Roman territories in the East, by a Scythian invasion, which required his immediate presence on the banks of the Oxus ; and a truce was hastily concluded with the Roman Emperor, which was alike grateful and necessary to both parties. The haughty demands of Shahpoor precluded, however, the conclusion of a peace ; and hostilities were recommenced on the part of the Persians, by the siege and capture of Amida, the capital of the modern pashalik of Diarbekir ; an acquisition which was dearly purchased, after employing the whole force of the Persians for seventy-three days, by the loss of the season and of the flower of the troops. The reduction of Singara and Bezabde, and the capture of five Roman legions, who were sent into remote captivity, were the only fruits of the ensuing campaign.*

* The eastern historians, while they very indistinctly notice the most important events of this reign, “ dwell upon a strange and improbable tale, which represents this proud and powerful monarch as leaving his kingdom to become a spy ; as being taken at a royal feast at Constantinople, from the resemblance which he bore to his picture in the possession of the Emperor ; suffering, while a captive, every degradation that could be inflicted ; and being at least carried, harnessed like a horse, with the Roman army, to witness the most dreadful scenes of pillage and devastation committed upon his kingdom. From this situation he is said to have made his escape, while his guards were enjoying themselves

On the accession of Julian, the Persian monarch is stated to have made overtures towards a negotiation of peace, which were sternly rejected by the Roman Emperor, who announced his intention to visit Persia in person. An army of 60,000 effective and well disciplined soldiers, the most numerous that any of the Cæsars had ever led against Persia,* was successfully conducted from Circesium on the Aboras, the Roman frontier, to the gates of Ctesiphon. Perisabor (or Anbaur) the second city of Assyria, and the fortress of Maogamalcha, which alone resisted the Roman arms, were taken and entirely destroyed. Ctesiphon, however, was found impregnable, though it had been thrice besieged and taken by the predecessors of Julian; and the Tigris was the limit of his triumphs. With singular infatuation, he destroyed his fleet and magazines, and blindly advanced into a deserted country, where he was led astray by the perfidy of his guides. The want of provisions soon compelled him to retreat; and the Persians, who had hitherto observed their march from a secure distance, availed themselves of this movement to pour down their overwhelming numbers upon the disheartened enemy. Julian paid, with his life, the penalty of his rashness; and an ignominious peace was the price of an undisturbed retreat

at a feast; and to have retaliated all his disgraces and injuries upon the Roman emperor, who was, according to this romance, taken prisoner when his army was defeated, and only released after ten years' close confinement."—MALCOLM, vol. i. p. 107.

* According to the Persian historians, the Romans were joined by the Arab tribes, who were eager for revenge; and their united force amounted to 170,000 men. In a dreadful conflict which took place, the Persians are admitted to have been routed with immense slaughter, and Shahpoor narrowly escaped by flight. This must allude to the action fought by Julian near Ctesiphon. Shahpoor soon, however, recruited his army, and pursued the victorious enemy on his subsequent retreat.—MALCOLM, vol. i. p. 109.

for the remains of the Roman army. By the treaty of Dura, the five provinces beyond the Tigris, the important city of Nisibis, and the fortress of Singara, were restored to the Persian monarchy,—“a memorable era in the decline and fall of the Roman empire.” * Armenia was also abandoned by its allies, and, from being an independent principality, was reduced to be a province of Persia.

Shahpoor attained the age of seventy-one, and was succeeded by Ardisheir II. (A.D. 381), whose relationship to the deceased monarch is doubtful. At the end of four years, he was deposed, or gave way to Shahpoor III., the son of Shahpoor Zoolaktaf. This monarch, who is described as virtuous and beneficent, reigned only five years. He was killed by the fall of his tent, the cordage of which was broken by the violence of a whirlwind, such as are very frequent in Persia, and the pole struck the monarch as he slept. He was succeeded (A.D. 390), by his brother, Baharam Kerman-shah (Varanes IV.); a surname which he derived from having, during the reign of his brother, held the principedom of Kerman, and which he perpetuated by founding the city of Kermanshah. He was slain by an arrow, while endeavouring to quell a tumult in the army.

The throne was next filled (A.D. 404) by Yezdijird Ulathim (or the sinner), the Isdigertes of the Greeks, whom the Emperor Arcadius is asserted to have appointed the guardian of his infant son Theodosius. With regard to the character of this monarch, the oriental and the western writers are singularly at variance: the latter represent him as a wise and virtuous prince; the former, as luxurious, cruel, and aban-

* Gibbon, c. xxiv.

done; adding, that the whole nation rejoiced when, after a reign of sixteen years, he was killed by a kick from a horse. Sir John Malcolm cites some of the sayings ascribed to Yezdijird, which breathe a spirit the reverse of the character attributed to him by his calumniators; and it is supposed that, by his indulgence and toleration towards the Christians, he had excited the spleen, and drawn down upon his memory the misrepresentations, of the magi. He appears to have had some reason to distrust his counsellors and courtiers, since he confided his son, Baharam, to the care of an Arab chieftain, the ruler of all the tribes of the Peninsula who acknowledged the supremacy and enjoyed the protection of the Great King. It was not without a struggle that, on the death of his father, the prince obtained his right and his crown.

Baharam V. is known, in Persian history, by the singular surname of Gour (wild ass). The first act of his reign was, to reward his guardian; his second, to pardon those who endeavoured to deprive him of his crown. His munificence, his virtue, his valour, and his light-hearted gayety are the theme of every historian of his reign. He was the patron of the dance and the song, and it was under this sovereign, that minstrels and music were first introduced into the kingdom from India.* This feature of his cha-

* The story is, that Baharam observed a merry troop of his subjects dancing without music, and, on inquiring the cause, was told, that a hundred pieces of gold had in vain been offered for a musician. In consequence of this, he sent to India for a supply of musicians and singers; and 12,000 were encouraged by his munificence to enter his dominions, where they have abounded ever since. "It is a curious fact," adds Sir John Malcolm, "that the dancing and singing girls of Persia are termed *Kaoulee*, a corruption of *Cabulee*, or of *Cabul*, which denotes the quarter whence they came."

racter appears to have emboldened the Khan of Transoxiana to invade the dominions of a monarch who was imagined to be immersed in luxury. A Tatar army of 25,000 men crossed the Oxus, and laid waste the whole of Khorasan, while, to add to the general dismay, Baharam disappeared. The Persian chiefs, struck with terror, were already tendering their allegiance to the invader, when their lost monarch re-appeared at the head of a chosen body of warriors, and surprising the Tatar camp at night, overthrew them with immense slaughter. Their Khan fell under the sword of Baharam, who pursued the fugitives across the Oxus, and thence returned in triumph to his capital.*

The wars between this monarch and the Emperor Theodosius were attended by no success of any consequence on either side, but were alike inglorious to the arms of both the Persians and the Romans. They terminated in a truce for one hundred years.

The ruling passion of Baharam, which betrayed his Arab education, was his enthusiastic love of the chase; and to this he became a victim. In pursuing his favourite game, the gour, he suddenly came upon a deep pool, into which his horse plunged, and neither the animal nor his royal rider was ever seen again.† It is remarkable, that he was the fourth successive monarch who had met his death from a casualty. Baharam ruled Persia eighteen years. "He was certainly," remarks Sir

* Malcolm, vol. i. p. 117. It might be supposed, that Baharam's secret expedition was to obtain succours from his old friends, the Arabs. The consternation of the Tatars is said to have been increased by a curious stratagem. "Upon the neck of every horse was a dried skin filled with small stones, which the rider rattled as he rushed to the charge." This strange noise confounded the enemy, and the horses partook of the alarm,

† See page 13, note.

John Malcolm, "one of the best monarchs that ever ruled Persia. He seems through life to have preserved the virtues and habits that were early impressed upon his mind by the precepts and example of the Arabian chief by whom he was educated. His government was more simple and patriarchal than that of any monarch of Persia. He was, like a true Arab, enthusiastically devoted to the chase, and delighted in a wandering life." It was this disposition that has given rise to the romance of his visit to India, whither he is said to have travelled in disguise, leaving the government in the hands of his wise vizier, Meher-Narsi ; but which this Writer rejects as an improbable fable. He was succeeded (A.D. 438) by his son, Yezdijird II., surnamed *Sipahdost* (the Soldier's Friend), who trod in the steps of his father ; and, during a reign of eighteen years, maintained, by his prudent adherence to the same counsels, the prosperity of the empire.

Hoormuz, the younger and favourite son of Yezdijird, was declared his successor, and his pretensions were supported by the principal lords of the empire ; but his elder brother, Firoze (Peroses), having escaped to the court of the Tatar monarch,* returned at the head of a powerful army, and the unfortunate Hoormuz lost his throne and his life. The return which Firoze made to his generous ally was, in contempt of every obligation of honour and gratitude, to invade

* About this period of history, some of the most respectable oriental writers begin to substitute the appellation Turkestan for Touran, in describing this country ; but Sir John Malcolm agrees with Gibbon, that it was probably an army of the Hiatilla or White Huns that invaded Persia in the reign of Baharam Gour. It was not till a later period that the Turkish tribes expelled the Hiatilla from the lands which they had taken from the Sacæ, or Scythians.

his territories; and he perished, as he deserved, in the expedition, after a reign of twenty-six years.

The throne of Persia was for four years occupied by his brother, Palasch, (the Valens of Roman history,) who was deposed in favour of Kobad (Cabades), the son of Firoze, and the father of the celebrated Nou-sheerwan. In the tenth year of this reign (A.D. 498), the impostor Mazdak began to propagate his infamous doctrines, and having gained an ascendancy over the weak mind of his royal proselyte, obtained a powerful body of followers. A conspiracy of the indignant nobles was the result. Kobad was deposed and imprisoned, and his brother Tamasp was raised to the throne; but the royal prisoner, having made his escape, fled to the court of Tatar, and, by the aid of his generous ally, recovered his throne. He is stated, however, to have compromised matters, by resigning the whole direction of the government into the hands of his minister. During several of the preceding reigns, the vizier would seem, indeed, to have acquired an influence which greatly circumscribed the royal prerogative, and sometimes overawed the throne.* Kobad, however, took the field in person against the Romans, with whom he waged a war during several years, with no other result than a waste of blood and treasure on both sides. Amida sustained a long and destructive siege from the Persians; it was at length taken by surprise, and all the inhabitants were put to the

* To the wise administration of Meher Narsi, Baharami Gaur and his successor were greatly indebted for the prosperity of their reign. Palasch was the mere pageant of the minister Soukra; and Kobad did not think himself safe, till he had got rid of this formidable subject by assassination. But his son Zermihr succeeded to his father's place and influence; and to his hands, Kobad eventually surrendered the reins of government.

sword. To secure the Roman territory against future irruptions, the Emperor Anastasius built the famous fortified city of Dara, as an advanced post of strength sufficient to defy and keep in check the power of the Persians. For more than sixty years, Gibbon says, "it continued to fulfil the wishes of its founders, and to provoke the jealousy of the Persians, who incessantly complained that this impregnable fortress had been constructed in manifest violation of the treaty of peace between the two empires." Kobad was the founder of several cities, among which were Burdah and Gunjah: the latter, situated on the frontier of Georgia, is still a town of importance, in the possession of Russia. After a diversified reign of forty-three years, he was succeeded, A.D. 534, by his illustrious son Nousheerwan, the contemporary and rival of the Emperor Justinian.

It was the first labour of the new monarch, as soon as he felt securely seated on the throne, to eradicate the baneful schism of Mazdak. The impostor himself was seized and executed, with many of his followers, and the lands and women which they had usurped, were restored to their lawful owners. Turning his attention to other necessary reforms, Nousheerwan ordered all bridges that had fallen into decay to be repaired; directed the towns and villages that had been destroyed, to be rebuilt; founded schools and colleges in different parts of his empire; and held out such encouragement to learned men, that philosophers from Greece resorted to his court.* Instead of listening with confidence to a favourite minister, he established four viziers over the four great governments

* "The seven Greek philosophers who visited his court, were invited and deceived by the strange assurance that a disciple of Plato was seated on the Persian throne."—GIBBON.

into which he divided his empire ; the first comprising Khorasan, Seistan, and Kerman ; the second, the territories of Isfahan and Koum, and the provinces of Ghelan, Adjerbijan, and Armenia ; the third, Fars and Ahwaz ; and the fourth, Irak-Adjem and Irak-Arabi, extending to the frontier of the Roman empire. The most excellent regulations were introduced for the management of the different governments ; and the code of Artaxerxes was revived and published as the rule of the magistrates. The vigilance and justice of the monarch himself were the great source of the security and prosperity of his dominions ; and historians “ have added to his merit, when they have attributed a part of the success and glory of his reign to the extraordinary wisdom of his favourite minister, Abouzurg-a-Mihir, who was raised from the lowest station to the first rank in the kingdom, and whose virtues and talents have shed a lustre even on those of the great monarch whose penetration discovered, and whose confidence employed them.”* The pen of Gibbon has been eloquently employed in expatiating on the merits of this accomplished sovereign.

“ Education and agriculture, he viewed as the two objects most deserving of his care. In every city of Persia, orphans and the children of the poor were maintained and instructed at the public expense : the daughters were given in marriage to the richest citizens of their own rank, and the sons, according to their different talents, were employed in mechanic trades, or promoted to more honourable service. The deserted villages were relieved by his bounty ; to the peasants and farmers who were found incapable of cultivating their lands, he distributed cattle, seed, and

the instruments of husbandry; and the rare and inestimable treasure of fresh-water was parsimoniously managed and skilfully dispersed over the arid territory of Persia.* The prosperity of that kingdom was the effect and evidence of his virtues; his vices were those of oriental despotism; but, in the long competition between Chosroes and Justinian, the advantage both of merit and fortune is almost always on the side of the Barbarian.

“The studies of Chosroes were ostentatious and superficial; but his example awakened the curiosity of an ingenious people, and the light of science was diffused over the dominions of Persia. At Gondi Sapor, in the neighbourhood of the royal city of Susa, an academy of physic was founded, which insensibly became a liberal school of poetry, philosophy, and rhetoric. The annals of the monarchy were composed..... Every learned or confident stranger was enriched by the bounty, and flattered by the conversation of the monarch. He nobly rewarded a Greek physician,† by the deliverance of three thousand captives; and the sophists who contended for his favour, were exasperated by the wealth and insolence of Uranius, their more successful rival. Nushirvan believed, or at least respected, the religion of the Magi; and some traces of persecution may be observed in his reign. Yet, he allowed himself freely to compare the tenets of the various sects; and the theological disputes in which he frequently presided, diminished the authority of the

* “In Persia, the prince of the waters is an officer of state. The number of wells and subterraneous channels is much diminished, and with it the fertility of the soil: 400 wells have been recently lost near Tauris, and 42,000 were once reckoned in the province of Khorasan.”

† “Kobad had also a favourite Greek physician, Stephen of Edessa. The practice was ancient.”

priest, and enlightened the minds of the people. At his command, the most celebrated writers of Greece and India were translated into the Persian language. In the search of universal knowledge, Nushirvan was informed, that the moral and political fables of Pilpay, an ancient Brahman, were preserved with jealous reverence among the treasures of the kings of India. The physician Perozes was secretly despatched to the banks of the Ganges, with instructions to procure, at any price, the communication of this valuable work. His dexterity obtained a transcript; his learned diligence accomplished the translation; and the fables of Pilpay were read and admired in the assembly of Nushirvan and his nobles.....With a similar design, to admonish kings that they are strong only in the strength of their subjects, the same Indians invented the game of chess, which was likewise introduced into Persia in the reign of Nushirvan.

“ The son of Kobad found his kingdom involved in a war with the successor of Constantine; and the anxiety of his domestic situation inclined him to grant the suspension of arms which Justinian was impatient to purchase. Chosroes saw the Roman ambassador at his feet. He accepted eleven thousand pounds of gold, as the price of an *endless* or indefinite peace (concluded A.D. 533); some mutual exchanges were regulated; and the demolition of Dara was suspended, on condition that it should never be made the residence of the general of the east.” *

“ The accounts given by eastern and western authors, of the successes of Nousheerwan in his invasions of the Roman empire,” Sir John Malcolm tells us, “ differ but very little. Some of the former (pro-

* Gibbon, ch. xlii.

bably confounding his actions with those of Sapor) have falsely asserted, that he took an emperor of the Romans prisoner; and they have all, with a partiality that, in national historians writing of this monarch, seems almost excusable, passed over the few reverses which his arms sustained. But the disgraceful peace which the Emperor Justinian purchased at the commencement of the reign of Nousheerwan, the subsequent war, the reduction of all Syria, the capture of Antioch, (all the inhabitants of which were brought away and settled on the banks of the Tigris,*) the unopposed progress of the Persian monarch to the shores of the Mediterranean, his conquest of Iberia and Colchis, and the temporary establishment of his power on the banks of the Phasis and on the shores of the Euxine, are facts not questioned by his enemies. They, however, assert, that his genius as a military leader, even when his fortune was at the highest, was checked by that of Belisarius, who was twice sent to oppose his progress; and whose success, considering his want of means and the character of the court he served, was certainly wonderful.

“ In all the negotiations which took place between the Emperor Justinian and Nousheerwan, the latter assumed the tone of a superior. His lowest servants were treated, at the imperial court, in a manner calculated to inflame the pride and raise the insolence of

* “ His historians have endeavoured to mitigate this act, by stating, that he built, near Ctesiphon, a town so exactly like Antioch, (of which he had directed a most minute plan to be drawn,) that each of the inhabitants of that city, when they reached it, went as naturally to his own house, or rather its counterpart, as if he had never left his native city!!!” Gibbon says, that “ a liberal allowance was assigned to these fortunate exiles,” with “ the singular privilege of bestowing freedom on the slaves whom they acknowledged as their kinsmen.”

a vain and arrogant nation ; * and the impressions which this conduct must have made, were confirmed by the agreement of the Roman Emperor to pay 30,000 pieces of gold ; a sum which could have been of no importance to Nousheerwan, but as it shewed the monarch of the western world in the rank of one of his tributaries. In a second war with the Roman emperors Justin and Tiberius, Nousheerwan, who, though eighty years of age, still led his armies, experienced some reverses of fortune : but the perseverance and valour of the aged sovereign were ultimately rewarded with the conquest of Dara and the plunder of Syria.

“ At the period of these great successes over the Romans, the empire of Nousheerwan had been equally extended in other quarters. The countries beyond the Oxus, as far as Ferghana, all those to the Indus, some provinces of India, and the finest districts of Arabia,† acknowledged the sway of the mighty monarch of Persia.

“ The only insurrection that disturbed the reign of Nousheerwan, was that of his son Noushizad. The mother of this prince was a Christian of great beauty, of whom the king was passionately fond : his entreaties could never induce her to change her religion for that of her sovereign ; and her son, taught by her early lessons, rejected as impious the rites of the Magi, and openly professed his belief in the doctrine of Christ. The contempt which the zealous but incautious youth shewed for the religion of his country, enraged his

* “ By an unexampled indulgence,” the interpreter of the Persian ambassador, “ a servant below the notice of a Roman magistrate, was seated, at the table of Justinian, by the side of his master.”—GIBBON.

† See Mod. Trav. Arabia, p. 41.

father, who, to punish what he deemed his heresy, placed him in confinement. Some time after this act, when Nousheerwan was in Syria, he had an attack of illness, and a report was spread of his death. Deceived by this rumour, Noushizad effected his escape, released other prisoners, collected a number of followers, of whom many were Christians, and attempted to establish himself in Fars and Ahwaz. Nousheerwan, the moment he heard of his revolt, directed Raim-Burzeen, one of his principal leaders, to march against him. A few raw levies, led by an inexperienced youth, were soon defeated by the able general of Nousheerwan. Noushizad was slain; and his conqueror pretended to mourn over the victory which his valour had gained, exclaiming against his bad fortune in being the unhappy instrument of the death of one of the royal house of Sassan.*

“Historians have dwelt upon the magnificence of the monarchs who courted the friendship of Nousheerwan. The Emperors of China and of India are among the most distinguished. The presents sent by them to the sovereign of Persia, are described as exceeding in curiosity and richness any that had ever been seen.†

* Gibbon, in his sneering way, says: “Nushizad was a Christian, a rebel, and—a martyr?” If he really believed his father to be dead, he cannot be justly termed a rebel. As to his Christianity, it is painful to recollect, that if it was “the religion of the Cæsar,” he fell a victim to his zeal for a creed not less corrupt and idolatrous than the rites of the Magi.

† Among the costly presents sent by the Chinese monarch, was the image of a panther, the body of which was covered with pearls, and the eyes were formed of rubies. From the King of India, Nousheerwan received ten quintals of aloes-wood, a carpet of serpents’ skin, softer than any silk, and a vase, formed of one precious stone, and filled with pearls. To these, Gibbon (following D’Herbelot) adds “a maid seven cubits in height.” Sir John Malcolm

The internal regulations of Nousheerwan were excellent. He established a fixed and moderate land-tax over all his dominions. He imposed a capitation-tax upon Jews and Christians. The regulations for preserving the discipline of his army, were still more strict than those of his civil government. . . . The title of 'good' and 'just' cannot, perhaps, be given to any human being in such a situation, and in such an age; for, whatever may be his disposition, the monarch whose will is the law of the country, who is compelled to repress rebellion, to retaliate attack, and to attain power over foreign nations in order to preserve his own in peace, must commit a thousand actions that are at variance with every principle of humanity and justice. But, if we are to deny the claim of Nousheerwan to those attributes with which eastern historians have clothed him, we must admit that his reign was glorious for his country; that he displayed, during a life protracted to more than eighty years, and a reign of forty-eight, all those great qualities which have, by the concurring opinion of mankind, given fame to their possessors; and above all, that he was, to the last hour of his life, unconquered by prosperity. His firm and able character resisted the influence of that luxury by which he was courted; he neither gave himself up to indulgence, nor permitted it in others; and the aged monarch was seen, a short period before his death, leading his troops to the attack of Dara with as active and ardent a spirit as he had shewn in his earliest enterprises."*

says: "On one side of the vase was engraven the figure of a lion; on the other, that of a young maiden, of whom the height was seven hands' breadth."

* Malcolm, vol. i. pp. 138—149,

The death of Nousheerwan is fixed in March 579.* In Hoormuz III., the heir to his vast dominions, the Persian Solomon was succeeded by a Rehoboam. So long as Abouzurg-a-Mihir, his teacher and vizier,† remained at court, the country prospered; and the veneration which the young monarch felt for his character, restrained him from giving loose to his passions. But no sooner had his age and infirmities compelled him to retire, than the weak and vicious monarch, under the influence of evil counsels, commenced a career of cruelty, folly, and profligacy which soon encouraged the distant provinces of India and Arabia to revolt, and drew down upon the country a Roman and a Scythian invasion. The Persian general, Baharam Choubeen, or Giubin (dry wood), by defeating the Khakan of Tatory, saved the empire from the danger which threatened to overwhelm it, and was raised by the indignant army to the throne. His reign, however, was short. Khosrou, the son of the deposed and murdered monarch, fled to the court of the Emperor Maurice; and Persia beheld the singular spectacle of an army of united Persians and Romans, headed by Narses, by whose aid the lawful monarch was restored. Baharam was defeated, and fled to Tatory, where his career was shortened by poison.

Khosrou (Chosroes) Purveez, from his restoration (A.D. 591), reigned seven and thirty years over Persia; and had he not lived six years too long, would have been esteemed one of the most fortunate of princes. He has the credit of having faithfully fulfilled his engagements to his ally, acknowledging

* Ten years subsequently to the birth of Mohammed, who gloried in being born during the reign of so just a king.

† Styled by Gibbon, the Seneca of the East. Some of his contemporaries laboured to prove him a Christian.

the Emperor 'Maurice' as his 'adopted father. Dara and other strong places on the frontier were surrendered to the Romans ; all who had aided in restoring him to the throne, were treated with munificence ; and the friendship he had contracted with Maurice, was never violated. But when that emperor was slain, he instantly declared war on the ground of avenging his father and benefactor ; and his generals, accompanied with a pretended son of Maurice, invaded the Roman territories. Dara, Merdin, Amida, and Edessa were successively reduced and destroyed ; Syria was completely pillaged ; and the conquest of Jerusalem, which had been meditated by Nousheerwan, was achieved by the zeal and avarice of his grandson. The holy city was taken by assault, and the stately churches of Helena and Constantine were consumed, or at least damaged by the flames. " The devout offerings of three hundred years (says Gibbon) were rifled in one sacrilegious day ; the patriarch Zechariah and the *true cross* were transported into Persia ; and the massacre of 90,000 Christians is imputed to the Jews and Arabs who swelled the disorder of the Persian monarch."...." Egypt itself, the only province which had been exempt, since the time of Diocletian, from foreign and domestic war, was again subdued by the successors of Cyrus. Pelusium, the key of that impervious country, was surprised by the cavalry of the Persians : they passed with impunity the innumerable channels of the Delta, and explored the long valley of the Nile, from the pyramids of Memphis to the confines of Ethiopia. Alexandria might have been relieved by a naval force ; but the archbishop and prefect embarked for Cyprus, and Chosroes entered the second city of the empire, which still preserved a wealthy remnant of industry and commerce. His

western trophy was erected, not on the walls of Carthage, but in the neighbourhood of Tripoli. The Greek colonies of Cyrene were finally extirpated ; and the conqueror, treading in the footsteps of Alexander, returned in triumph through the sands of the Libyan Desert. In the first campaign, another army advanced from the Euphrates to the Thracian Bosphorus. Chalcedon surrendered after a long siege ; and a Persian camp was maintained above ten years in the presence of Constantinople. The sea-coast of Pontus, the city of Ancyra, and the Isle of Rhodes are enumerated among the last conquests of the Great King ; and if Chosroes had possessed any maritime power, his boundless ambition would have spread slavery and desolation over the provinces of Europe. From the long disputed banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, the reign of the grandson of Nousheerwan was suddenly extended to the Hellespont and the Nile, the ancient limits of the Persian monarchy.”*

The pen of Gibbon has supplied this rapid and graphic sketch of his triumphs : we take the sequel of his reign from the pages of Sir John Malcolm.

“ While his generals were subduing the Roman empire, Khoosroo was wholly devoted to the enjoyment of unheard of luxury and magnificence. His noble palaces, of which he built one for every season ; his thrones, which were invaluable, particularly that called *Takh-dis*, which was formed to represent the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the hours of the day ; his treasures ; his ladies, of whom there were twelve thousand, each, if we believe the gravest of Persian writers, equal to the moon in splendour and in beauty ; his horses, of which fifty thousand stood in the royal

* Gibbon, ch. xlvi.

stables ; his twelve hundred elephants ; his Arabian charger, *Shub-deez*, fleetier than the wind ; his enchanting musician, Barbud ; and, above all, the incomparable Shereen, with whom he was distractedly in love ;* are subjects on which a thousand volumes have been written by his countrymen. Although the magnificence of this prince has been much exaggerated, we may conclude that no monarch ever indulged in greater luxury and splendour. His reign, for more than thirty years, was marked by a success never surpassed by the most renowned of his ancestors. It was, however, the weakness and distraction of the Roman empire which gave fame to this vain-glorious ruler, who, while his generals were conquering Syria, Nubia, Egypt, and Colchis, and occupying, with his victorious troops, a camp at Chalcedon, which, for twelve years, insulted the fallen fortunes of Constantinople, seemed only to value his conquests as they added to his pleasures. The vast territories which his armies subdued, were exhausted, that his palaces and the gorgeous state of his royal person might exceed all that history ever told of kingly grandeur.

“ But Khoosroo, while satiating himself with enjoyment, was destined to become a memorable example of the instability of human happiness and glory. The Mahomedan authors ascribe the dreadful reverses which marked the latter years of this prince, to the

* This celebrated beauty, whose name is said to be expressive of sweetness and grace, is described by the Greek writers as a Roman by birth, and a Christian by religion. The Persian romances represent her to have been the daughter of the Emperor Maurice. Her surpassing charms, her wit, and musical talents, her fatal passion for the lowly Ferhad, and her tragical death, are the favourite theme of eastern story. To escape the unnatural love of the parricide Shiroueh, she swallowed a poison which produced instant death.

indignation of a just God, who poured all the phials of his wrath upon the head of a guilty monarch, that had dared, with impious and accursed hands, to tear the letter of his holy prophet Mahomed.* Christian authors, with more reason, deem his end a just punishment for the cruelties and excesses which his armies committed in the Roman territories. But the cause of the rapid decline of his fortune, is as obvious as that of its rise. The Emperor Heraclius, alike remarkable for weakness and indulgence in the palace, and for extraordinary valour and military skill in the field, found himself compelled either to abandon the purple, or to make a great effort to defeat his numerous and powerful enemies. His first impulse, we are told, was to escape a struggle which he dreaded; but the patriarch of his capital arrested his flight, and made him swear at the holy altar, to live and die in the defence of his country. The wonderful success with which his resolution was crowned, is fully related by the historians of the West, and not contradicted by those of the

* “Khoosroo Purveez was encamped on the banks of the Karasoo river, when he received the letter of Mahomed. Enraged at being called upon by an Arabian, of whose name he had probably never before heard, to renounce the religion of his fathers, he tore the letter, and cast it into the Karasoo. For this action, the moderate author of the *Zeenut-ul-Tuarikh* calls him a wretch, and rejoices in all his subsequent misfortunes. These impressions still exist. I remarked to a Persian, when encamped near the Karasoo in 1800, that the banks of that river were very high, which must make it difficult to apply its waters to the purposes of irrigation. ‘It once fertilized the whole country,’ said the zealous Mahomedan; ‘but its channel sank with horror from its banks, when that madman Khoosroo threw our holy prophet’s letter into its stream, which has ever since been accursed and useless.’”—MALCOLM, vol. i. p. 159. Mohammed is said to have exclaimed, on receiving the information of the treatment his letter met with: “It is thus God will tear the kingdom, and reject the supplications of Chosroes,”

East. The sudden invasion of Persia by a Roman army, led by a warlike emperor, awakened Khoosroo from his dream of pleasure; and in a period of six successive years, he endured the misery of losing all his foreign conquests; of seeing Persia overrun by victorious enemies, who defeated his troops wherever they encountered them, and marched in one direction as far as the Caspian; in another, to Isfahan; destroying in their progress all his splendid palaces, plundering his hoarded treasures, and dispersing in every direction the countless slaves of his pleasure. Khoosroo Purveez saw all this without one effort to stop the mighty work of ruin. He fled at the advance of Heraclius alone, and, like a deserter, from his own troops that guarded Dustajird. Yet, even in the wretched state to which his fortune and character had reduced him, he rejected an offer of peace, made by the generous humanity of his conqueror. But the subjects of Khoosroo had lost all regard for a monarch whom they deemed the sole cause of the desolation of his country. A conspiracy was formed against him; and, that his cup of misery might be full, Khoosroo was seized by his eldest son, Shiroueh, cast into a dungeon, and soon afterwards put to death by an unnatural prince, who pretended that he was compelled to the parricide by the clamours and importunities of the people and nobles of the empire.

“ While the Emperor Heraclius retired, ‘ after six glorious campaigns, to enjoy the sabbath of his toils at Constantinople,’ the kingdom of Persia was left to perish, under the accumulated evils of a dreadful famine, the disputes of proud and luxurious nobles, a succession of weak sovereigns, or rather pageants of power, and the attack of a terrible enemy; for the flame which Mahomed had kindled in Arabia, began

already to spread, and to threaten an equal fate to the aged and decayed empires of Rome and of Persia.”*

The glory of the house of Sassan ended with the life of Chosroes. Shiroueh (or Siroes) enjoyed during only eight months the fruit of his crimes; and “in the space of four years, the regal title was assumed by nine candidates, who disputed with the sword or dagger the fragments of an exhausted monarchy.” An infant son of Shiroueh, and two daughters of Khosrou Purveez, were successively raised to the throne. Pooran-dokht, one of these princesses, ruled Persia for a year and four months, and appears to have escaped, by an early death, the fate of her nephew and sister, who were murdered. A state of complete anarchy ensued, the management of public affairs being the subject of perpetual contest among the ambitious nobles, who now vainly sought for an heir of the house of Sassan, † whom they might raise to power as the creature and subservient instrument of their selfish schemes of aggrandisement. At length, Yezdijird, son of Shahryar, (Isdegertes III.) a supposed grandson of Khosrou, who had long resided at Istakhr as a private person, was called to the tottering throne (A.D. 632), and his elevation imparted a fallacious gleam of hope to a falling nation.

The first attack made by the Arabs on the Persian empire in the short reign of Pooran-dokht, had been unsuccessful; but in a third encounter, the Persian general was defeated and slain, and his dispirited troops fled in dismay to Madain (Ctesiphon). There, Yezdijird received the deputation from the Arab general, who bore the answer to his overtures. The

* Malcom, vol. i. p. 157—162.

† Fifteen or eighteen sons of Khosrou were massacred by order of their brother.

Persian monarch was still too proud to listen to the degrading condition, which required him to receive the religion of Mohammed, or submit to pay the tribute fixed upon infidels. The war was renewed with all the vigour of which the declining empire was capable; and, according to Mohammedan authors, nearly the whole of the Persian army, which was 100,000 strong, fell in the celebrated battle of Kudseah (Cadesia), while the Arabs lost only 3000 men. But what gave its chief importance to this action, was the capture of the royal standard, the famous *Durufsh-e-Kawanee*; an event which was regarded by both parties as a certain presage of the result of the war. Yezdijird, on receiving tidings of this defeat, fled to Hulwan, and thence to Rhé. The former city was soon reduced, and occupied by one detachment of the invading forces; while the main body, after the fall and sack of Ctesiphon, advanced upon Ahwaz, (at that time a place of great importance,) which they took, and thence marched to Koofa (Kufah).*

Yezdijird, having raised a second army from the provinces of Khorasan, Rhé, and Hamadan, resolved to stake the fate of his empire upon another battle; and 150,000 Persians encamped within a deep entrenchment on the plains of Nahavund, where, for two months, they remained in sight of the Arabian army, neither party seeming disposed to hazard the first attack. At length, the promise of the crown of

* The sack of Ctesiphon, where immense treasures are said to have fallen into the hands of the "naked robbers of the desert," was succeeded by its desertion and gradual decay. The Arabian conquests were followed and established by the foundation of Basorah. The first colony consisted of 800 Moslems; but the commercial advantages of the situation soon rendered it a flourishing and populous capital. Kufah eventually succeeded to the honours of Ctesiphon and Seleucia.

martyrdom as the alternative of victory, excited the fanatic ardour of the Arabs to a pitch of enthusiasm that rendered them impatient of delay. The fury of their charge was irresistible. Thirty thousand Persians are stated to have been pierced by their lances, while eighty thousand more were drowned in the deep trench by which they had surrounded their camp. The battle of Nahavund decided the fate of Persia, which, from that period, A.D. 641, fell under the dominion of the Arabian khalifs.

Yezdijird protracted for several years a wretched and precarious existence. He first fled to Seistan, thence to Khorasan, and finally to Merve, where he met his death from the hand of a treacherous peasant, in whose protection he had confided, while crossing a stream to escape from the Tatar cavalry.* “His son Ferooz, a humble client of the Chinese emperor, accepted the station of captain of his guards; and the Magian worship was long preserved by a colony of loyal exiles in the province of Bucharia. His grandson inherited the regal name; but, after a faint and fruitless enterprise, he returned to China, and ended his days in the palace of Sigan. The male line of the Sassanides was extinct; but the female captives, the daughters of Persia, were given to the conquerors in servitude or marriage; and the race of the khalifs and imams was ennobled by the blood of their royal mothers. The two daughters of Yezdijird married Hassan, the son of Ali, and Mohammed, the son of Abubeker. The daughter of Ferouz became the wife of the khalif Walid; and their son Yezid derived his genuine or fabulous descent from the Chosroes of

* His end, Gibbon remarks, “was not only unfortunate, but obscure;” and the story is differently told by every native writer.

Persia, the Cæsars of Rome, and the Chagans of the Turks or Avars." *

Thus terminated a dynasty which had ruled Persia 415 years, "and the memory of which is still cherished by a nation whose ancient glory is associated with the fame of Ardisheer, Shahpoor, and Nousheerwan." After the flight of Yezdijird, the armies of the khalif soon overran the whole of Persia, from the Euphrates to the Oxus, "destroying all that was useful, grand, or sacred in that unhappy country. A great proportion of the conquered inhabitants, preferring the abandonment of their religious principles to oppression or death, adopted the faith of their new masters; while those who were unable to endure the scene, fled, self-banished, into a distant land. The progress of the conquerors was rapid and wonderful. Colonies from the burning desert of Arabia were extended over the cold countries of Khorasan and Balkh; and they flourished in the soil to which they were transplanted. Their descendants still remain a distinct race, and continue to preserve the manners and the appearance, though they have lost the language, of their forefathers. When the great conquest was complete, lieutenants were appointed to the different divisions of the country; and Persia was held as a province, under the vast empire of the Arabian khalifs, for more than two centuries. Its history during that period is to be found in that of its conquerors; and even there, it occupies but a small and unimportant space. The only events of consequence are petty revolts of insubordinate governors, who, when the power of the khalifs declined, tried to render the provinces to which they were appointed, hereditary principalities, and humbled

* Gibbon, ch. li.

themselves to that paramount power when it was strong and efficient.”* The sceptre of the once proud kingdom of Persia fell at length from “the nerveless grasp of the despicable successors of Omar and Ali;” and the prize was obtained by a man who, “though born in the lowest ranks of life, was ennobled by the qualities of valour, generosity, and wisdom.” Yacoob Ben Leis, the son of a pewterer* at Seistan, passed through the natural gradations of a spendthrift, a leader of banditti, a chief of reputation, a general, and a victorious usurper. At his death, in the year 877, he bequeathed almost the whole of Persia to his brother Amer. A Tatar lord, named Ismail Samanee, who had usurped the government of Transoxiana, was the conqueror of Amer; and the captive monarch was sent to Bagdad to receive his death from the khalif he had defied.

From the downfall of the house of Ben Leis, A.D. 901, to the rise of the celebrated Sultan Mahmoud of Ghizni, a period extending over nearly a century, the empire of Persia was divided between two families, the Samanee and the Dilemee. “The power of the dynasty of the Samanees extended over Khorasan, Seistan, Balkh, and the countries of Transoxiana, including the cities of Bokharah and Samarcand; and they at times possessed, and often ravaged, part of Irak. This race, though originally raised by the favour of the khalifs, threw off, in the pride of power, even nominal allegiance to those sovereigns; while their rivals and enemies of the family of Dilemee, always acknowledged the supremacy of the khalifs; and, during the whole period of their rule, one of this family

* Malcolm, vol. i. p. 277.

† Hence, the appellation of *Suffaree* (pewterer), applied to this ephemeral dynasty.

was vizier of the empire, and consequently was vested with the management of affairs at Bagdad. But, though the Dilemee princes styled themselves the slaves of the Lord of the Faithful, they exercised sovereign power over the greatest part of Irak, Fars, Kerman, Khuzistan, and Laristan, making peace and war as independent princes. This family survived, though with reduced power, the dynasty of the Samanee, and were not wholly destroyed till the capture of Bagdad by Toghrul Beg, the founder of the house of Seljooke."*

The history of Sultan Mahmoud of Ghizni demands a more particular notice. Abustakeen (Abestagi, Alputtekeen), one of the chief nobles of Bokharah, having renounced his allegiance to that court, retired with his followers to Ghizni, then an insignificant town, but which became, by his successes, the seat of a petty principality. On the death of his son and successor, Isaak, the suffrage of all ranks bestowed the government upon an officer of his body-guard, who had risen to favour from an obscure origin. His name was Subuctageen; he was of Turkish descent, and, according to some historians, had been purchased by Abustakeen. However this may have been, under his administration, the little state of Ghizni attained the greatest prosperity, and its ruler became the first of a family which, though of short duration, outshone, at one period, the glory of the proudest dynasties of Asiatic monarchs."

Subuctageen laid the foundations of his fame by his "holy wars" upon the infidels of India, by which he

* Malcolm, vol. i. p. 292. Ismail, the first king of the race of Saman, traced his descent from Bahram Choubeen, who contended for the crown of Persia with Khosrou Purveez. He is styled "brave, generous, pious, and just."

at once fulfilled the mandates of the prophet, and enriched his own coffers. In his first expedition, he defeated Jypaul (Chipaul), the ruler of northern India, took Caubul, and overran the fine province of the Punjab (Five Waters), the present country of the warlike Sikhs.* In a second expedition, he defeated the Indian monarch in a great action, and Jypaul consented to become his tributary; but no sooner had the conqueror quitted his territory, than the faithless Hindoo confined the officers who had been left to receive the tribute, and refused to fulfil his engagements. Aware of what he had to expect, he assembled a vast army from every quarter of his extensive dominions, with which he awaited the attack of the invaders. Again, the fortune and valour of Subuctageen prevailed, and the routed enemy left an immense booty to the victor, who took possession of the fine country of Paishawur, on the Indus, and the district of Lingham. To these acquisitions were afterwards added the province of Khorasan, the reward of his services in aiding Ameer Noah Samanee to suppress a rebellion of his subjects. Subuctageen died soon after, and was succeeded, A.D. 997, by his son Mahmoud.

The first care of this able and enterprising prince was, to obtain from the khalif of Bagdad the confirmation of his power, with the titles of “the right hand” and “the protector of the faith.” After thus securing the friendship of the pope of Islam, settling the governments of Khorasan and Rhe, and connecting himself by the most intimate ties with the ruler of Tatary, Ilij Khan, whose daughter he married,—Mahmoud

* The five rivers from which this province receives its name, are, the Sutledge (*Hysudrus*), the Beeah (*Hyphases*), the Ravee (*Hydraotes*), the Chunab (*Acesmas*), and the Behat (*Hydaspes*).—MALCOLM.

commenced that religious war upon the idolaters of India, which occupied the greater portion of his reign. In his first two expeditions, he was completely successful, and established his government over almost the whole of the Punjaub. The superstitious but patriotic Jypaul, being again defeated, resolved, by an heroic sacrifice of his own life, to endeavour to propitiate the gods, and to save his country from the impending ruin. Delivering over the government to his son, he mounted a funeral pile, praying that his death, amid the flames which he kindled with his own hand, might expiate the sins that had, as he imagined, drawn down the vengeance of Heaven upon his devoted kingdom.*

Anundpal, the son of Jypaul, was not more successful, however, than his unhappy father, in his contest with the Mohammedan invader, who, in two successive invasions (A.D. 1003), made himself master of the province of Moulton. He would probably have subdued at this period, the whole of Hindostan, if he had not been called back to defend his own territories against Ilij Khan, who had taken advantage of his absence to invade Khorasan. The Tatars were soon expelled; and about the same time, he subdued Kulif, Prince of Seistan, the last of the family of Ben Leis. Provoked at the disgraceful repulse which his armies had sustained, the Tatar sovereign, joined by the Prince of Khoten,† crossed the Oxus at the head of

* "We derive our information of this event," says Sir John Malcolm, "from sources that cannot be doubted; and the conduct of Jypaul on this extraordinary occasion, is truly characteristic of that complete devotion to the religion and the usages of their ancestors, which distinguishes the higher classes of Hindoos."

† The town and province of Khoten, in the kingdom of Kashgar or Little Bucharía, fell under the dominion of the Chinese in A.D. 1757, and is now included in that vast empire.

50,000 horse, and advanced to the vicinity of Balkh. Mahmoud did not hesitate to encounter this immense army; and his heroic courage being seconded by the valour of his troops, the Tatars were overthrown and pursued across the Oxus. The severity of the season prevented him from following up the victory by penetrating further into the territories of the humbled khan; but Ilij, though he survived his defeat, never ventured again to oppose Mahmoud. Impatient of action, no sooner had Mahmoud returned from Tatar, than he hastened to Paishawur, to chastise and dethrone a Hindoo prince, who had relapsed from a feigned conversion and involuntary allegiance into the double crime of revolt and apostasy. He was fined in a large sum, and condemned to remain a prisoner for life.

Early in the next season (A.D. 1008) Mahmoud was again called to encounter the united forces of the Hindoos, who had assembled from the most distant regions of India under the standard of Anundpal, with the determination to arrest by their combined numbers the further progress of the Mohammedan conqueror. Their army, encamped near the Indus, is said to have exceeded 300,000 men; and Mahmoud deemed it prudent to form his camp within a strong entrenchment, where, for forty days, he observed the enemy, adhering to his plan of acting on the defensive. At length, the infidels resolved to attack him in his position. The trench was carried by the fury of the first assailants, and great numbers of the Moslems were slain. The victory was yet in suspense, when the elephant of Anundpal, taking fright, bore away the rajah, and spread dismay and confusion amid the troops. A general panic and flight ensued, in which 20,000 Hindoos were slain, and all the wealth of the camp

fell into the hands of the pursuers. The fortress of Bheemghur, containing immense treasure,* fell into Mahmoud's hands; and it was in this expedition that he destroyed the celebrated temple of Nagracote. In the course of the same year, he took prisoner the rebellious governor of Mooltan, and subdued the province of Ghoor.

His next expedition to India appears to have been unopposed by Anundpal, who remained in his capital of Lahore, a passive observer of the destructive inroad which he could not oppose. Marching to Tanasser, a celebrated seat of Hindoo worship, about seventy miles N. of Delhi, the zealous Moslem destroyed the temple, and sent the fragments of its celebrated idol Jugsoom to Ghizni, to be converted into steps for the principal mosque of that capital, "that the faithful might tread upon the mutilated image of superstition as they entered the temple of the true God." After this exploit, he led back his victorious army encumbered with riches and with captives.

The next two years (A.D. 1014, 15) were devoted to the conquest of Cashmere and the hilly districts adjacent: a great proportion of the inhabitants were here compelled to embrace the religion of their conqueror, as in all the countries which Mahmoud annexed to his kingdom. India obtained the short respite of a year, while her indefatigable conqueror was employed in settling the distant country of Khaurizm. But that was soon effected; and Mahmoud immediately commended preparations to attack the famous city of Cannouge, (supposed to be the ancient Palibothra,) situated about two miles from the banks

* His plunder is stated to have amounted to 700 *maunds* (of 7lb.) of gold and silver plate, 40 *maunds* of pure gold, 2000 *maunds* of silver, and 20 *maunds* of set jewels.

of the Ganges, in lat. $27^{\circ} 3' N$. The march alone was computed to occupy a period of three months. Having selected for this arduous enterprise 100,000 horse and 30,000 foot, of the best soldiers in his army, Mahmoud took the route of Cashmere and the mountains, whence he descended into the plains of Hindostan, and, by the celerity of his movements, took Cannouge by surprise. Here he remained only three days, and then marched to Meerut in the Duab. Muttra, on the Jumna, which is still deemed by the natives, as it was then, a holy city, was also taken and destroyed. Mahmoud broke all the idols he found there, as at other places; but the complete destruction of its great and solid temples was a labour beyond his power; and, in the letters which conveyed the account of his success to Ghizni, the conqueror himself acknowledges the admirable structure and beauty of those sacred edifices. Many other forts and cities fell into his hands in this invasion; and when he returned to his capital, his own share of the plunder was estimated at 20 millions of dirhems (nearly 459,000*l.*), 53,000 captives, 350 elephants, and an immense quantity of jewels. The private spoil of the army is said to have exceeded that which came into the royal treasury. A part of this wealth was laid out in adorning his capital; and during the next three years, Mahmoud, as if sated with conquest, devoted himself to the gratification of his vanity. Ghizni soon rivalled, in the beauty and magnitude of its public and private edifices, the proudest cities of the East; but the grand mosque, upon which the monarch lavished all his magnificence, surpassed every other, and obtained the lofty, not to say impious title of "The Celestial Bride." Mahmoud sent an account of his victories, in verse, to

the Khalif of Bagdad, with a variety of valuable and curious presents; and the Commander of the Faithful ordered the poetic eulogy on the hero of Islam to be publicly read in the capital of the Khalifate.

From this repose, Mahmoud was roused by the intelligence, that the Rajah of Cannouge, in consequence of the treaty he had entered into with a Mohammedan prince, had been attacked and slain by a combination of neighbouring chiefs. Again he advanced to the Jumna, and crossed that river to attack the Rajah of Kalinjur (the chief fortress of Bundelcund). But that chief retreated before him, and the deep ravines and low woods of his country afforded him that safety in flight which he could scarcely hope for from resistance. Mahmoud was obliged to content himself with subduing a few forts, and imposing his creed upon several small nations in his return to Ghizni. The following year was lost in the unsuccessful attempt to reduce the mountain-fortifications of Gwalior and Kalinjur, which, from their natural strength, have, in modern times, been found capable of resisting the science and discipline of a European army.

On his return from this expedition, Mahmoud resolved upon the most arduous of all his enterprises. "His avarice and bigotry," we are told, "were alike stimulated by the reports of a rich temple in Guzerat, whose priests boasted of the superior power of their famous idol Somnauth. Determined upon the destruction of this last refuge of idolatry, he advanced through Moultan, and crossed in safety the deserts of Joudpore to Ajimere. No fewer than 20,000 camels are said to have been loaded with water for the supply of the army in passing the desert. The castle of Somnauth was situated upon a lofty eminence,

three of its sides being inaccessible.* On encamping before it, Mahmoud received by a herald from the fort, the message, that the idol god had brought the Mohammedans before the walls of his temple, that he might blast them with his wrath. The more enlightened Moslem smiled at the idle menace; and on the morrow, the exclamation of *Allah-akhbar*, God is great, resounded from his troops as they drove the Hindoos from the ramparts. The dismayed idolaters fought with the fury of despair, and ultimately forced the soldiers of Mohammed to abandon the advantages they had obtained. Night suspended the dreadful carnage, but the attack was renewed in the morning with increased fury. Again the Mohammedans mounted the ramparts, but were every where repulsed, and cast down headlong by the Hindoos; and Mahmoud at length drew off his dispirited troops from the assault. At this juncture, a Hindoo army arrived to the succour of the place, which he resolved to attack; but hardly had the action commenced, when the Hindoos were joined by a considerable reinforcement under two rajahs. Mahmoud saw that the efforts of his troops became faint, and that they were on the brink of defeat. Springing from his horse, he prostrated himself upon the earth, imploring the aid of God in an enterprise which had for its object to advance the glory of his mighty name. In an instant he was remounted, and seizing one of his bravest generals by the hand, he invited him to join in a charge which should secure for them either

* The Persian writers represent it as defended on three sides by the sea; but Sir John Malcolm states, that Somnauth Putten (as it is generally termed) stands one or two miles from the sea, at the junction of three rivers, the Hurna, the Kupula, and the Sersutty, in the district of Soreth or Kattywar; lat. $21^{\circ} 58' N.$, long. $70^{\circ} 31' E.$

the crown of martyrdom or a glorious victory. The Mohammedans, when they saw their prince resolved not to survive defeat, determined to share his fate, and rushed again to the contest with a spirit that was irresistible. The Hindoos gave way in every direction, and a complete victory rewarded the determined valour of Mahmoud and his soldiers. No sooner did the inhabitants of Somnauth, who had watched the battle with trembling solicitude, perceive the route of their friends, than, seized with a panic, they abandoned the walls which they had before so nobly defended; and the conqueror instantly seized the town. The spoil found in the temple was immense. It is said to have been decorated with thirty-six pillars inlaid with precious stones of the most beautiful and costly description; but the glory of the temple was the gigantic idol, fifteen feet high. Mahmoud, striking it with his mace, ordered it to be broken; directing two fragments to be sent to Ghizni, one to be thrown at the threshold of the great mosque, the other in the court of his palace; and two more were to be transmitted to Mekka and Medinah, that they might remain at those sacred cities as trophies of his pious valour. "At this moment," we are told, "a number of brahmins came forward and offered several millions of money if he would spare their idol. His nobles entreated Mahmoud to accept of the ransom; but that prince, exclaiming, that he desired the title of a breaker, not a seller of idols, commanded them to destroy it. A few more blows discovered an immense quantity of rich jewels that had been concealed in the hollow parts of the image, and which were found to be of much greater value than the sum they had offered for the ransom of their idol."

Mahmoud, after subduing some other cities in

Guzerat, left the country in the hands of a brahmin of a royal family, who consented to hold the government as his tributary vassal. In crossing the deserts on their return, the army suffered considerably, being misled by a perfidious guide, who confessed, when about to suffer death for the deception he had practised, that he was a priest of Somnauth, and had sought to avenge his god by leading the troops of Ghizni to destruction. After this expedition, Mahmoud engaged in a war with the Jats, a Hindoo tribe who once possessed a great part of the Punjaub and Moultan, and encountered with success their fleets on the rivers of the Punjaub. The same year (A.D. 1027), he defeated an army of Seljookee Turks, who had invaded his Persian territories, and obtained several advantages over his generals. The last of his successes was the conquest of almost all Irak, which, with Rhé and other territories, he formed into a government for his son Massoud, having declared his other son, Mahomed, heir to his throne. At the commencement of the following year, a violent attack of the stone terminated his career. Just before he expired, he is said to have taken a last and mournful view of his army, his court, and the enormous treasures he had accumulated, as if reluctant to abandon the enjoyment of his wealth and glory.

Of Mahmoud's great talents as a warrior, there can be no doubt, but his claims to eulogy on other grounds are few. The anecdotes of his life represent him to have occasionally exercised a severe and despotic justice, and he appears to have merited the praise of munificence. His court was splendid beyond example; the edifices he erected, were grand; he gave to learned men and poets the most liberal encouragement; and it is to his love of literature we are indebted for almost all

that remains of the history of ancient Persia, as contained in the noble epic of Ferdousi, the *Shah Namah*. But the popular tale which represents his vizier as pretending to a knowledge of birds, and as explaining the speech of an old owl, who, wishing Mahmoud a long life, offered a hundred ruined villages as a dowry to her daughter,—presents, in a truly eastern form, Sir John Malcolm remarks, the picture of a reign marked more by desolation than by improvement.

The limits of this vast kingdom, at the death of Mahmoud, were, the provinces of Georgia and Bagdad to the W. and S.W., the kingdom of Bokharah and Kashgar, N. and N.E., and the provinces of Bengal and the Deckan as far as the Indian Ocean, E. and S.E.;—an extent of territory which rivalled the empires of Shahpoor and Nonsheerwan. But the rise of this great dynasty was not more rapid than its downfall, which dates from the death of the sovereign to whom it owes all its lustre in the page of history. His sons contended for the empire, and alternately occupied the palace and the prison. The treasures of the sultan were plundered by a mutinous soldiery. During the reign of Madood, the grandson of Mahmoud, the dynasty of Ghizni lost all their possessions in Persia; and their subsequent history, till their complete extinction about the middle of the twelfth century, exhibits only a disgusting detail of petty wars, rebellions, and massacres. In the reign of Behram Shah, a lineal descendant from Mahmoud, and the eleventh sovereign in succession from him, Ghizni was taken by the Affghans of Ghour, when, for seven days, that noble city was abandoned to a savage and furious soldiery. “Neither age nor sex was spared; and the humble shed, the lofty palace, and the sacred temple, were blended in one common ruin.”

Khosrou Malek, the grandson of Behram, was attacked in his capital of Lahore by the same ruthless barbarians, and after an ineffectual resistance, was made prisoner and put to death: in him perished the last of the race." *

The princes of Ghour † derived their proud descent from Zohauk, and boasted that their ancestors had successfully opposed the mighty Feridoon. They rose upon the ruin of the dynasty to which they were at first tributary, not only to the throne of Ghizni, but to that of India. Their glory was, however, still more transitory. Both kingdoms, on the death of Mahomed, the conqueror of Khosrou Malek, fell to slaves who had been educated and adopted by that prince, and who left no children to inherit the fruits of his successes.

The romantic story of Sultan Mahmoud of Ghizni forms an episode in the history of Persia, being more immediately connected with the annals of India. We must now take a rapid view of the Tatar dynasties which, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, ravaged or occupied this once proud and flourishing empire.

The Tatar tribe who derived their name from their chief Seljook, had already extended themselves over a territory stretching from the confines of Khorasan to the Jaxartes, when, by the defeat of the grandson of Sultan Mahmoud, they became masters of that province. Their leader, Toghrul, now assumed the state and title of a sovereign at Nishapore, whence he extended his conquests to Irak and the territory of Mousul. By the reduction of Bagdad, he became

* Malcolm, vol. i. ch. ix. pp. 313—47.

† Ghour is a mountainous territory northward of Ghizni.

master of the person of the khalif, whose spiritual supremacy, however, he affected to respect, and he obtained from him in return a full confirmation of all his conquests. Toghrul was successful in several actions that he fought with the declining empire of Constantinople, which opposed his invasion of Georgia and Iberia. In his seventieth year, his ambition led him to demand in marriage a princess of the house of Abbas, the daughter of the reigning khalif; but he survived his marriage only a few months, and left the throne of Persia to his celebrated nephew, Alp-Arselan (the conquering lion).

This monarch, who succeeded to the empire in the year 1063, united valour and generosity with the love of learning and the sciences. "And if," remarks Sir John Malcolm, "we could regard him in the same light in which he is considered by Mohammedan authors, who deem his cruel and bigoted persecution of the Christians in Armenia, Georgia, and Iberia, the most praiseworthy of his actions,—we should term this monarch one of the best, as he is certainly one of the most renowned of the sovereigns of Asia." He is stated to have fixed a large iron collar (or horse-shoe) on the neck of every Christian that refused to change his religion. His successes and his cruelties at length roused the court of Constantinople to a sense of its danger. The armies of the Mohammedan sovereign had already advanced as far as the province of Phrygia, when Romanus Diogenes, the husband of the Empress Eudosa, took the field, and, by his courage and skill, soon forced the scattered armies of Persia to fall back upon the frontier.* He then advanced through Ar-

* In the army of Romanus, the "legions of Macedonia and the squadrons of Bulgaria," the Uzi or Guzi of Moldavia, (a Turkish horde,) and the mercenary bands of French and Normans

menia into Adjerbijan; but near the village of Konongo, he was met by Alp-Arselan at the head of a very inferior force, who offered liberal terms of accommodation to the Roman emperor. They were haughtily and rashly rejected. Romanus was confident of victory: Alp-Arselan determined not to survive defeat. He is stated, indeed, to have made a display of pious resignation to his fate, by performing the menial office of tying up the tail of his own horse, preparatory to the battle, and by clothing himself in a white robe or shroud perfumed with musk; while the exchange of his bow and arrows for a scimitar and mace, declared the manner in which he was resolved to maintain the combat. The troops of Romanus commenced the action, and had at first the advantage; but the ardent valour of the Emperor led him to advance too far, and the confusion produced by his retreat, was increased by the cowardice or treachery of one of his principal leaders, who withdrew a large division from his support. Alp-Arselan took advantage of the crisis, and a general charge of his whole army achieved the defeat of his enemies. Overwhelmed by numbers and wounded, Romanus was taken prisoner, and led to the conqueror, who could hardly believe his good fortune. Alp treated his royal prisoner with the utmost respect and kindness. In the first conference, he asked him, what he would have done, had fortune reversed their lot. "I would have given thee many a stripe," was the imprudent and virulent answer. The Turkish conqueror smiled at the insolence of his captive, and asked in return, what treatment he expected to receive. "If thou art cruel," said Romanus, "put me to death. If vain-

under Baliol, the ancestor of the Scottish kings, were mingled with the disorderly multitudes of Phrygia and Cappadocia.—See GIBBON, c. lvii.

glorious, load me with chains, and drag me in triumph to thy capital. If generous, grant me my liberty." * The terms of liberty and peace dictated by Alp-Arslan were, a ransom of a million pieces of gold, an annual tribute of 360,000, and the release of all the Moslems who had been taken prisoners. Romanus reluctantly subscribed a treaty so disgraceful to the majesty of the empire, and was dismissed with rich presents and a guard of honour. On reaching the confines of the empire, however, he was informed, that the palace and the provinces had disclaimed their allegiance to a captive emperor. With difficulty he raised and transmitted the sum of 200,000 pieces in part of his ransom, with the tidings of his misfortune. Alp-Arslan was preparing to effect the restoration of his former enemy, when he learned that Romanus Diogenes had been defeated, imprisoned, and put to death by his own subjects.

The power of Alp-Arslan now extended from the deserts of Arabia to the banks of the Oxus. Immediately after he had defeated the Romans, he subdued the greater part of Khaurizm; and desirous of establishing the rule of the house of Seljook over their native country, he ordered a bridge to be thrown over the Oxus, which he passed without opposition. But here, his proud career was destined to terminate. Irritated at the protracted resistance made by the small fortress of Berzem, he ordered the commander to be brought before him, and loaded him with reproaches. The bold and violent reply he received, provoked him to sentence his prisoner to a cruel death; on hearing which, the desperate Khaurismian drew his

* Gibbon's version is: "If you are cruel, you will take my life; if you listen to pride, you will drag me at your chariot-wheels; if you consult your interest, you will accept a ransom."

dagger, and rushed towards the Persian monarch. The guards had raised their battle-axes, when Alp-Arselan, relying upon his unequalled skill in archery, checked their zeal, and seized his bow ; but, his foot slipping, the arrow missed its mark, and before he could draw another, he had fallen under the dagger of the assailant, who was instantly cut to pieces. The monarch was mortally wounded, but lived long enough to confess and deplore his rash self-confidence, and to deliver over his empire to his son Malek Shah, with the charge to intrust the chief management of his affairs to the wise and pious Nizam-ul-Mulk, to whose virtue and ability he ascribed the prosperity of his own reign. Alp-Arselan was buried at Merv (or Maru) in Khorasan, and the following impressive sentence was inscribed upon his tomb : “ O ye who have seen the glory of Alp-Arselan exalted to the heavens, repair to Merv, and you will behold it buried in the dust.”

This monarch possessed, as Gibbon sententiously remarks, “ the virtues of a Turk and a Mussulman.” He was brave and generous, and, except where his bigoted zeal warped him from his better feelings, seldom cruel. Under the administration of his able vizier, who enjoyed his unbounded confidence, justice was well administered ; learning was encouraged ; colleges and mosques were erected in every city ; the poor were protected ; and the inhabitants of Persia confessed, that the conquest of their country by the dreaded Tatars had proved the greatest of blessings.

The generals of Malek Shah subdued almost the whole of Syria and Egypt ; and that prince, more fortunate than his father, not only conquered Bokharah, Samarcand, and Khaurizm, but received the homage of tribes beyond the Jaxartes, and “ his name was inserted on the coins, and in the prayers,” of the distant

kingdom of Kashgar on the confines of China. The glories of his reign, which have entitled him to be considered as the greatest prince of his age, are thus summed up by the pen of Gibbon.

“ From the Chinese frontier, Malek stretched his immediate jurisdiction or feudatory sway to the west and south, as far as the mountains of Georgia, the neighbourhood of Constantinople, the holy city of Jerusalem, and the spicy groves of Arabia Felix. Instead of resigning himself to the luxury of his haram, the shepherd-king, both in peace and war, was in action and in the field. By the perpetual motion of the royal camp, each province was successively blessed with his presence ; and he is said to have perambulated twelve times the wide extent of his dominions,* which surpassed the *Asiatic* reign of Cyrus and the caliphs. Of these expeditions, the most pious and splendid was the pilgrimage of Mecca. The freedom and safety of caravans were protected by his arms ; the citizens and pilgrims were enriched by the profusion of his alms ; and the desert was cheered by the places of relief and refreshment, which he instituted for the relief of his brethren. Hunting was the pleasure and even the passion of the sultan, and his train consisted of forty-seven thousand horses. But after the massacre of a Turkish chase, for each piece of game, he bestowed a piece of gold on the poor ; a slight atonement, at the expense of the people, for the cost and mischief of the amusement of kings. In the peaceful prosperity of his reign, the cities of Asia were adorned with palaces and hospitals, with moschs and colleges ; few departed from his divan without

* This, Sir John Malcolm remarks, must allude to that part only which was under his immediate rule.

reward, and none without justice. The language and literature of Persia revived under the house of Seljûk. ...The Sultan bestowed a serious and learned care on the reformation of the calendar, which was effected by a general assembly of the astronomers of the East. By a law of the prophet, the Moslems are confined to the irregular course of the lunar months. In Persia, since the age of Zoroaster, the revolution of the sun has been known and celebrated as an annual festival ; but after the fall of the Magian empire, the intercalation had been neglected ; the fractions of minutes and hours were multiplied into days ; and the date of the spring was removed from the sign of Aries to that of Pisces. The reign of Malek was illustrated by the *Gelalæan* era ; * and all errors, either past or future, were corrected by a computation of time, which surpasses the Julian, and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian style.

“ In a period when Europe was plunged in the deepest barbarism, the light and splendour of Asia may be ascribed to the docility, rather than the knowledge of the Persian conquerors. An ample share of their wisdom and virtue is due to a Persian vizir who ruled the empire under the reigns of Alp-Arselan and his son. Nizam, one of the most illustrious ministers of the East, was honoured by the caliph as an oracle of religion and science : he was trusted by the sultan as the faithful vice-gerent of his power and justice. After an administration of thirty years, the fame of the vizir, his wealth, and even his services, were transformed into crimes. He was overthrown by the

* March 15, A.H. 471, A.D. 1079. Gelaleddin, (more properly Jullaleddeen,) “ the glory of the faith,” was one of the titles of the sultan.

insidious arts of a woman and a rival ; * and his fall was hastened by a rash declaration, that his cap and ink-horn, the badges of his office, were connected by the divine decree with the throne and diadem of the Sultan. At the age of ninety-three years, the venerable statesman was dismissed by his master, accused by his enemies, and murdered by a fanatic.† The last words of Nizam attested his innocence, and the remainder of Malek's life was short and inglorious. From Ispahan, the scene of this disgraceful transaction, the Sultan moved to Bagdad, with the design of transplanting the Caliph, and of fixing his own residence in the capital of the Moslem world. The feeble successor of Mahomet obtained a respite of ten days ; and before the expiration of the term, the barbarian was summoned by the angel of death.

“ The greatness and unity of the Turkish empire expired in the person of Malek Shah. His vacant throne was disputed by his brother and four sons ; and, after a series of civil wars, the treaty which reconciled the surviving candidates, confirmed a lasting separation in the Persian dynasty, the eldest and principal branch of the house of Seljûk. The three younger dynasties were those of Kerman, of Syria, and of Roum. The first of these commanded an extensive, though obscure dominion on the shores of the Indian ocean ; the second expelled the Arabian princes of Aleppo and Damascus ; and the third invaded the Roman provinces of Asia Minor.” ‡

* Toorkan Khatoon, the principal sultana, who both hated and feared the minister, because she feared he would oppose the elevation of her son Mahmoud to the throne.

† The assassin was a follower of Hussun Subah, the Chief of the Mountains, a personal enemy of Nizam-ul-Mulk.

‡ Gibbon, ch. lvii.

Sanjar, the third son of Malek Shah, held, at his father's death, the government of Khorasan, whence he extended his power in one direction beyond the Oxus, and in another to the Jaxartes. Behram Shah, the king of Lahore, and Allah-u-deen, the destroyer of Ghizni, successively became his tributaries, and the kingdom of Khaurizm was bestowed on his chief cup-bearer. The death of his brothers and the conquest of his nephews, re-united in his hands the sovereignty of Persia and Irak, which had been divided on the death of Malek Shah. But, after a long reign, marked by singular success, Sanjar was destined to experience the most cruel reverses. Having advanced into Tatary, to attack the monarch of Kara Khatay, he suffered a signal defeat; in which almost his whole army was cut to pieces, his family taken, and his baggage plundered; the Sultan escaping with only a few followers.* Some time after this, he marched against the Turkoman tribe of Ghuz, who had withheld their usual tribute of 400,000 sheep, and was again defeated and taken prisoner. He was at first treated with respect, but latterly endured every hardship and insult that barbarity could inflict. During his long confinement of four years,† his dominions were ruled by his favourite Sultana; but the whole of Khorasan appears to have been over-run and ravaged by the barbarous Turkomans; and when he at length effected his escape, after the death of his Sultana, the desolated state of his territories is said to have plunged him into a melancholy from which he never recovered.

* On his return to Khorasan, "he was reminded by a flattering poet, who made an ode upon the occasion, that the condition of God alone is not liable to change."

† From A.D. 1153 to 1156.

He died at the age of seventy-three, leaving behind him a high character for humanity and justice, as well as valour and magnificence.

For forty years after the death of this monarch, Persia continued to be distracted with the wars of different branches of the Seljoukian family. The last of the race, Toghrul III., after having overcome most of his rivals, gave himself up to every species of excess, and was slain by the monarch of Khaurizm, A.D. 1193, being one hundred and fifty-eight years from the commencement of the reign of the first monarch of that name, the founder of the dynasty.* His conqueror, the sovereign of Khaurizm, was succeeded in his dominions by his son Mahomed, whose reign was, at its commencement, splendid and successful ; but his fortune fell before " that great destroyer of the human race," Chenghiz Khan. After his armies had been defeated, his territories ravaged, and almost all his family led captive, he died of a broken heart at a small island in the Caspian, near Asterabad.†

From the time of the decline of the Seljoukian dynasty to the conquest of Persia by Hulakoo Khan, the son of Chenghiz, (a period of more than a century,) that country was distracted by the conquests of a number of petty princes, or governors, called *Atta-begs*, who, taking advantage of the weakness of the last monarchs of that race, established their authority over some of the finest provinces of the empire. Many of these petty dynasties acquired a local fame, which has survived to this day in the districts over

* A branch of this family for some time supported the high title of Sultan in the province of Kernan. The dynasties of Iconium and Aleppo fell before the fortune of a Kourdish adventurer, the famous Salah-u-deen (Saladin).

† A.D. 1220. Malcolm, vol. i. pp. 374—81.

which they ruled. But all were swept away by the inundation of the Tatars under Chenghiz Khan.* The most remarkable of these petty dynasties, was that which for nearly two centuries maintained itself at Allahamout, and which was enabled, by the singular influence its chiefs exerted over their followers, to strike awe into the bosoms of sovereigns, and to fill a kingdom with terror and dismay.

Hussun Subah, the first chief of this dynasty, from whom the sect he founded derived the name of Hussunee,† was a school-fellow of Nizam-ul-Mulk, with whom,‡ together with another companion, he had made an agreement to share fortunes if either attained to eminence. The minister was not forgetful of his engagement, and Hussun became mace-bearer to Alp-Arselan. But his eager ambition was not to be satisfied with gradual advancement. After failing in an attempt to supplant and ruin his friend, Hussun retired to Rhe, and thence proceeded to Syria, where he entered into the service of a chief of the Ismailies, and adopted the tenets of that sect.‡ After some

* Sir John Malcolm devotes several pages to the Atta-begs of Adjerbijan, Fars, and Laristan. "The memory of Atta-beg Saad is, to this day, held in great respect at Shiraz. He surrounded that city with a wall, and built the *Musjid-e-Jamah*, or chief mosque, which still remains a monument of his piety and munificence."

† The English word assassin is supposed to be a corruption of this appellation. The Persian names of the sect were *Bâtteen* (the concealed or secret), and *Fedavee* (devoted).

‡ So called from their maintaining that the descendants of Ismail, the eldest son of Jaaffer, the sixth Imaum, who died during his father's life, should have succeeded to that dignity; they, in consequence, reject the right of Aboul Kauzim, the seventh Imaum, and all his successors. The Fatimite dynasty were descended from Ismail. Originally, therefore, the Ismailies are to be regarded as schismatics, rather than heretics from the Mohammedan creed; but upon this fundamental tenet, others of a less harmless nature appear to have been grafted by Hussun.

time, he secretly returned to Persia, and having gained possession of the mountain-fort of Allahamout (Eagle's Nest), near Kazvin, commenced his depredations on the surrounding country. Here he was besieged by a force sent to reduce him by Malek Shah; but, by a successful sally, he compelled the assailants to raise the siege. It was about this time that Nizam-ul-Mulk fell into disgrace, and was assassinated by one of the followers of Hussun. At length, after the death of Malek Shah, Sultan Sanjar resolved to extirpate this band of robbers, whose depredations and murders had spread terror through his kingdom. He had made some marches in the direction of Allahamout, when, one morning, on waking, he discovered a poniard stuck into the ground close to his pillow, with a scroll attached to it, warning him to beware. The warlike monarch trembled, and desisted from the attack he contemplated. Of the astonishing ascendancy which Hussun had gained over the minds of his disciples and followers, another remarkable instance is recorded. When an envoy from Malek Shah came to Allahamout, Hussun commanded one of his subjects to stab himself, and another, to cast himself headlong from a precipice. Both mandates were instantly obeyed. "Go," said he to the astonished envoy, "and explain to your master the character of my followers."

Religious fanaticism seems to be the only principle adequate to produce such blind devotion to a political leader; and Hussun was indebted for his astonishing influence to the credulous reliance which all the Sooffee teachers taught their disciples to place upon their infallible instructor. The religious doctrines taught by Hussun, are said to have blended the Sooffee mysticism with the creed of the Koran. The most

self-denying and abstemious habits were enjoined upon his followers, and obedience to his rule was enforced with the greatest severity.* At the same time, the joys of Paradise formed the bright reversion with which their spiritual leader engaged to reward the devotion of his deluded followers.

Hussun Subah added several other hill-forts to the one which he first seized: that of Roodbar, near Kazvin, was next in consequence to Allahamout. In his manners he affected the utmost plainness and simplicity, and he contented himself with the Arabic title of *Shaik-ul-Jubal*, or Chief of the Mountain.† When Hussun died, he was succeeded by his son, Keah Buzoorg Oormeid ("Keah of Great Hope"), who defeated a strong force sent to reduce his fortress of Roodbar, and concluded an honourable truce with the Sultan he had set at defiance. His envoy was even received at the court of Isfahan with distinction; but the populace of that city, instigated by the moollahs, who regarded the sect of Hussun as still more abominable for their heresy than for their crimes, proceeded to the house of the unfortunate envoy, and tore him to pieces. The feeble-minded Sultan immediately sent a mission to Keah, to disclaim any share in the murder; but Keah demanded that the perpetrators of the outrage should be given up to his vengeance. This demand not being complied with, he despatched a party of his men to Kazvin, who, entering that city in disguise, slew one of the chief magistrates and four hundred of the inhabitants, carrying off an immense booty. This vindictive outrage brought

* Two of his own sons are said to have died under the blows he gave them in punishment of their infraction of the prescribed rules.

† Or *Sheikh-el-Djebel*, improperly translated, Old Man of the Mountain.

on a contest between Keah and Sultan Mohamed, which did not terminate till the death of that monarch; after which, Keah not only defeated the royal troops, but conquered the province of Ghilan, the governor of which he took prisoner and put to death.

Keah died at Roodbar, and was succeeded by his son Mahomed, who resigned the ecclesiastical supremacy to a prince of the family of Ismail, called Hussein Ibn Nasser. The murders committed by this tribe now became daily more frequent: every one who was deemed their enemy, fell by an assassin. One khalif (Murtashed) had been stabbed at Bagdad; and another, Rashid Billah, because he threatened this tribe with vengeance, was murdered as he lay dangerously ill. More than 50,000 men, it is said, gloried in being the devoted members of this mysterious and diabolical confederacy.* The voice of the moollahs of Persia loudly demanded the extirpation of the sacrilegious heretics; but Sultan Sanjar, the reigning monarch, having been once warned, contented himself with sending a mission to Roodbar, to inquire into the tenets of the sect, and he affected to be satisfied with the explanation and assurances on that head, which his envoy received from the chief. Hussein Ibn Nasser, having made himself contemptible by his debauchery, was slain by his own relatives, who placed his son

* The followers of Wahhab have in more modern times exhibited a very similar spirit of devotedness to their leader; and in the general character of their fanaticism, as well as their secrecy, perseverance, and address, and the system of assassination they adopt, they bear a striking resemblance to the Hussunees. The sect of Ismailies still exists in a scattered state. A colony settled in the mountains between Tortosa and Tripoli, who made themselves formidable to the Crusaders, and their descendants still remain.—See MOD. TRAV. *Syria*, vol. i. pp. 267—70. The *Borahs* of British India are also said to be a branch of this sect,

Allah-u-deen Mahomed at the head of the tribe. After a long and prosperous reign over the Ismailies for forty-six years, this ruler was succeeded by his son, Jellal-u-deen Hussein, who is celebrated for the kindness and generosity of his disposition. He cultivated with success the friendship of neighbouring sovereigns. Even the Khalif of Bagdad "relaxed from his orthodoxy," and showered honours upon the envoy of this prince. Jellal-u-deen engaged in no war except with the governor of Irak; and the first campaign closed, as was usual, with the death of the individual who had ventured to attack the Chief of the Mountain. The conquests of Chenghiz Khan commenced about this period; and an envoy from the court of Allahamout was sent to Transoxiana, to propitiate the Tatar monarch. Jellal-u-deen died the following year, and was succeeded by a boy of ten years of age, who, after a reign of above forty years, was succeeded by his son, Kaher Shah (or Ruken-u-deen), the last of the race. After a weak and ineffectual struggle, he fell before Hulakoo Khan, who took him prisoner, dismantled all his strong holds, amounting, it is said, to a hundred, and put to death upwards of 12,000 Ismailies; an act by which he made some atonement to the nation he subdued, for the evils he inflicted by his inroad.*

On the death of Chenghiz Khan (A.D. 1226), according to the division of his immense conquests made by the Emperor on his death-bed, the kingdoms of Persia, Khorasan, and Caubul had been allotted to his fourth son, Touli Khan. That prince survived his father only three years, and was succeeded by his son Hulakoo Khan, whose first act was the destruction of

* Malcolm, vol. i. 394—403.

the Chief of the Mountain and his followers. The army with which he entered Persia, is computed at 150,000 horse, to which were attached a thousand families of Chinese artificers and engineers, skilled in the construction of military machines and the preparation of inflammable substances. After traversing the whole of Persia, Hulakoo Khan turned his arms against Bagdad. The unfortunate Khalif Mustasim, lulled into fatal security by a treacherous vizier, "trusted to vain anathemas to stop the progress of a fierce warrior, who held him and his religion in equal contempt." The capture of Bagdad, the massacre of the greater part of its inhabitants, the murder of Khalif Mustasim and his only surviving son, and the conquest of the remainder of Persia, of Mesopotamia, and of Syria, (all which events were crowded into one year,) transferred the empire of the Arabian Khalifs of the house of Abbas to the grandson of Chenghiz.*

After completing these conquests, Hulakoo fixed his court at Maragha in Adjerbijan; a delightful situation on a fine plain watered by the Jaghatty, near Lake Oormia.† Here he appears to have spent his last years in a manner worthy of a great monarch. "Philosophers and astronomers were assembled from every part of his dominions, who laboured in works of science, under the direction of his favourite, Nasser-u-deen. The summit of a low mountain, close to Maragha, was levelled, and an observatory built upon it; the foundation of which still remains, and is shewn to travellers as the spot where Nasser-u-deen formed those astronomical tables which have become

* Malcolm, vol. i. p. 422.

† Maragha still ranks in consequence next to Tabriz among the cities of Adjerbijan.

so celebrated under the name of the Tables of Eel-Khannee." *

Hulakoo, who died at Maragha, was succeeded (A.D. 1264) by his son, Abaka Khan; a prince who is stated to have united with courage and wisdom the virtues of moderation, justice, and clemency. He married the daughter of the Emperor Michael Paleologus, who had been betrothed to his father, but arrived at Maragha after the death of that prince. This circumstance, together with the connexion he formed with some of the potentates of Europe, when at war with the ruler of Syria and Egypt, gave rise to the opinion that he had embraced the Christian faith. Of this, however, Sir John Malcolm says, there exists no satisfactory proof; but his brother and successor, Neekoudar, is believed to have been baptized in his youth by the name of Nicholas. All the oriental writers agree in praising the character of Abaka, whose great object appeared to be, to repair the ravages which the empire had suffered from the excesses of his father's soldiers, among whom he introduced a strict discipline. His reign was disturbed by two formidable invasions from Tatory: one conducted by Barkah Khan, a descendant of Chaghtai, who advanced from the plains of Kapshak into Georgia, but was arrested by death on the banks of the Cyrus; the other, led by Borak Aghlan, another descendant of Chaghtai, who

* *Eel-Khannee* or *Eylekhauny*, i.e. lord of the tribe, was the title assumed by Hulakoo (or Hûlaurû), in honour of whom these tables were named. Nasser-u-deen, whose real name was Mahomed Ben Hassan, the most celebrated philosopher of his age, was an inhabitant of Bokharah, when, by order of the court of Allahamout, whose offers he had rejected, he was kidnapped, and compelled to become the tutor and companion of Allah-u-deen. He was released from this honourable captivity by Hulakoo, who ever treated him with the most marked favour and veneration.

invaded Khorasan with a numerous force, but was defeated by Abaka near Herat, and compelled to flee.

Neekoudar was no sooner raised to the throne by the Moghul lords, on the death of his brother in 1281, than, abjuring the Christian faith, he assumed the name of Ahmed Khan, and became the violent persecutor of those whose creed he had once professed. Not content with destroying all the churches that had been built in his empire, he banished every Christian from his dominions. The Moghul nobles, however, who cordially hated the Mohammedans, were indignant at the conduct of their sovereign ; and a formal complaint was made to the Emperor of Tatory, Kublai Khan, the great grandson of Chinghiz, and the acknowledged head of the family. The result was, that, Arghoun Khan, the son of Abaka, was enabled to deprive his uncle of his crown and his life ; and he received from the Emperor of Tatory the formal investiture of royalty as sovereign of Persia, Arabia, and Syria. His vizier, the Jew Saad-u-doolah, favoured and protected the Christians in Persia, while he removed the Mohammedans from all stations of trust and profit. Indeed, we are told, he went so far as to command that no person professing that faith should appear at court. While the Pope of Rome (Nicholas IV.) was sending deputations to Arghoun, to express his gratitude for the kindness with which the Moghul prince treated Christians, the moslems trembled lest the temple of Mekka should be converted into a cathedral. But the death of Arghoun put an end to the hopes of the one party, and the fears of the other ; and Saad-u-doolah was murdered almost at the same instant that his sovereign expired.

The short and inglorious reign of his brother, Key Khatou, is distinguished by the very remarkable

attempt to repair the ruinous effects of the monarch's prodigality, by the introduction of a paper currency into Persia, in lieu of specie.* Such a medium of exchange had subsisted for nearly sixty years in China. The experiment was made in Persia in the year 1294; but the result was disastrous. On the third day, it was found necessary to yield to the clamours of the discontented people; and the author of the scheme was torn to pieces by the mob. The sovereign himself lost, by the attempt to enforce this arbitrary measure, the confidence of all ranks; and he was, in a few months after, deposed and put to death by a confederacy of his disaffected nobles. Baidu Khan, a grandson of Hula-koo, was then raised to the throne, but enjoyed it only for a few months, at the end of which he was dethroned and slain by the son of Arghoun, the illustrious Ghazan Khan. This enlightened prince refused to ascend the throne of his ancestors till he had been regularly elected, as the most renowned of his race had been, in a *coroultai* or diet of the Moghul nobles, to whom he boldly avowed his resolution to reform the abuses which had grown up in the reigns of his immediate predecessors. Since the death of Hula-

* This monarch is said to have been at this period considerably more than two millions sterling in debt. A proclamation was issued, prohibiting the use of precious metals either as a medium of exchange or in any species of manufacture, except for the royal use. Banking-houses were to be established in every city; they were called *tshau khanah*, the house of stamps. The *tshau*, or bank-note, was an oblong piece of paper, containing a short inscription in Chinese characters, the Mohammedan confession of faith, and, within a circle, the value of the note and the date of issue. They varied in value from half a *dirhem* (2½d.) to ten *dirhems* (4s. 7d.). The attempt to establish a paper currency in China, under the immediate descendants of Chenghiz Khan (A.D. 1226), is mentioned by Marco Polo. It was abandoned after a trial of some years. A second attempt was made in 1368, by the Emperor Hongvou, but failed.—MALCOLM, ch. i. pp. 431—4,

koo, the government had been in the hands of the more powerful nobles, more than in those of the monarch. Ghazan Khan not only revived and reformed the Institutes of Chenghiz, which had sunk into neglect, but framed a new code of edicts, embracing the reform of the judicial and fiscal administration, the distribution of lands for the support of the army, the regulation of posts and caravanserais, the suppression of robbers, and the fixing of the standard of coins, weights, and measures. The Institutes of Ghazan Khan, which are transcribed at length by the best Persian historians, were adopted by succeeding monarchs, and were admirably adapted to promote the general prosperity of the community. Prior to his elevation to the throne, he had professed the Christian religion, the faith of his Tatar ancestors; but, actuated, it is supposed, by the same policy that led Henry IV. of France to secure his throne by a similar apostasy, Ghazan suddenly announced to his assembled nobles, his conversion to the creed of Mohammed; and nearly 100,000 of his followers, with the true spirit of Tatar soldiers, followed their leader into the pale of Islam. This event took place in June 1265. The step was boldly followed up by his directing that the name of the Khakan of Tatar should no longer appear on the coins of Persia; an act equivalent to renouncing his allegiance to the Emperor, and it led to an invasion of Khorasan, in which, however, the Tatars werer epulsed with great loss.

The principal wars which this monarch carried on, were with the Sultans of Egypt, who were at that period deemed the defenders of the religion of Mohammed against the combined efforts of the Christian powers. A policy strangely at variance with his

adopted creed, led him consequently to seek the aid of the states of Europe ; and Pope Boniface VIII., by a display of his alliance with the Persian Khan, endeavoured to excite the Christian princes to another crusade. Syria was the seat of the contest which Ghazan carried on with the Sultan of Cairo, and in which he was at first successful ; but latterly, he experienced a complete reverse of fortune ; and disappointment, preying upon his spirits, accelerated his death, which took place in 1303, at a town near Rhe, which he had built and called Sham Ghazan, the Damascus of Ghazan. In his person, this monarch was remarkable for the lowness of his stature and the unsightliness of his appearance, but his mind was richly endowed. A Christian monk long resident at his court, after describing a battle in which the Persian monarch displayed the greatest conduct and courage, adds : “ It is astonishing how so many virtues can reside in so diminutive and ugly a person.” Cyrus is said to have been his model : it is not known whether he studied his character in the page of Xenophon.

Ghazan was succeeded by his brother, Ouljaitou Khan, better known under his title of Sultan Mahomed Khodah-bundah (Mahomed the slave of God), who is said to have been a just prince. He was the first monarch of Persia who proclaimed himself of the sect of Aly, causing the names of the twelve imaums to be engraved on all the money which he coined. He built the city of Sultaneah, and made it the capital of his dominions ; an honour which it retained during the reign of his immediate successors. Part of the mausoleum of its founder is the only remaining vestige of its magnificence. Mahomed Khodah-bundah was succeeded by his son, Abou Seyd Behauder, a youth of twelve years of age ; during whose minority, the

kingdom was again thrown into confusion by the disputes of the nobles. He closed a reign undistinguished by any great event, in the year 1335, being cut off by a fever caught in the unhealthy province of Shirwan, whither he had repaired to repel an invasion of the Tatars of Kapshak. He was the last monarch of the house of Hulakoo who enjoyed any power. The princes who were subsequently raised to the throne, were mere pageants, whom the nobles set up or cast down as it suited their ambitious views. Hussein Buzoorg, an immediate descendant of Arghoun, seized upon Bagdad, and became the founder of a petty dynasty, which terminated with his grandson Ahmed, who fled before the conqueror Timour, and was slain in an attempt to recover his dominions, after Timour's death, by a Turkoman chieftain. The province of Fars was seized, on the death of Mahomed Khodah-bundah, by a chieftain named Mubariz-u-deen Mahomed, who assumed the title of Ul Muzuffer, the victorious. The history of this petty dynasty, which lasted about eighty years, presents the usual detail of murders and petty wars. It closed with Shah Munsoor, who fell in a brave encounter with the Tatar monarch. Hafiz, the Anacreon of Persia, was at Shiraz, the capital of this dynasty, when it was taken by Timour, and was honoured with the marked favour of the conqueror. Almost every province of Persia, after the death of Mahomed Khodah-bundah, was seized by some powerful chief; and the empire, thus disunited and dismembered, became an easy conquest to the most warlike monarch that had yet issued from that nursery of heroes, the country of the Tatars.

The Ameer Timour, surnamed *Lung* (or *Lenc*), the lame,* (corrupted into Tamerlane,) was born at

* Demir or Timour signifies, in the Turkish language, Iron,

Shaher-e-Subz (the verdant city), in the district of Kesch,* in the year 1336 of the Christian era. His father was the chief of the tribe of Borlaus (or Berlass), who professed allegiance to the Khans of Tatar; and one of his ancestors had been vizier to Chaghtai or Zagatai, the son of Chenghiz. The confusion into which the country was thrown by the extinction of the immediate descendants of Chaghtai, afforded him the first opportunity of discovering the address and ambition which marked his character. Toghluk Timour Khan, Chief of Budukshan and Kashgar, laying claim to Transoxiana as his inheritance, on the ground of relationship to the family of Chenghiz, entered that province at the head of a powerful army. At his approach, the governor of Kesch, Hajee Borlaus, the uncle of Timour, fled to Khorasan, while the more politic nephew threw himself on the clemency of the invader, and was rewarded with the government of his native province. It was not long, however, before Timour revolted from his allegiance, and was compelled to seek safety by flight. During many years, he led a wandering and perilous life, seldom accompanied by more than a hundred followers, often without one; but still, as the chief of a tribe, he had his secret adherents; and he appears never to have despaired of ultimate success. After the death of Toghluk Khan, many of the friends of his family joined him; and they became at length strong enough to make a stand for the independence of their country. The son of Toghluk was eventually compelled to retire to his native kingdom; and Timour, after the defeat

* In Transoxiana or Maver-ul-nahr. It is situated about 130 miles E. of Bokharah, and 30 S.E. of Samarcand. Gibbon calls the place of Timour's birth, Sebzar, in the fruitful territory of Cash.

and assassination of a powerful rival, Ameer Hussein, found himself the sovereign of Transoxiana.

For eleven years subsequent to his elevation (A.D. 1369—1380), Timour found occupation in settling his own kingdom and in conquering Kashgar and Khaurizm. He then determined on the invasion of Khorasan, which soon submitted to his arms; notwithstanding which, Timour levied so severe a contribution upon Herat and the other cities in the province, that the inhabitants were reduced to beggary. Candahar and Caubul next yielded to his sword, and Seistan and Mazanderan were laid waste by the destructive ravages of his Tatar forces. Even submission did not exempt the unhappy natives from pillage and massacre. After these countries had been completely subdued by his troops, Timour (in 1384) crossed the Oxus in person at the head of an immense army, and traversing Persia, easily overthrew the degenerate descendants of Hulakoo. Having taken and destroyed their capital of Sultaneah, he carried his successful arms across the Araxes, overran Georgia, and received the submission of the Khan of the Lesghees and of the ruler of Shirwan.* Then turning his arms against the Turkomans of Van, he took and pillaged that city. In the mean time, one of his generals subdued the Turkoman chief of Laristan, who had rendered himself peculiarly odious to all good moslems, by plundering a caravan of pilgrims bound for Mekka.

* Ibrahim, Prince of Shirwan or Albania, brought to the imperial footstool, his peace-offerings of silks, horses, and jewels, each article nine in number, together with eight slaves. According to the Tatar usage, there should have been the same number of these also. "Where is the other?" said Timour. "I am myself the ninth," said the prince, stepping into the rank; and his flattery was rewarded with his re-appointment to the principality.

Timour's next conquest was the city of Isfahan, at that time subject to the monarch of Fars.* The city having opened its gates at his approach, the conqueror contented himself with levying a heavy contribution upon the inhabitants, and retired, leaving a garrison of about 3000 Tatars. Accident is said to have determined the patriotic but fatal insurrection which subsequently took place, and in which the whole of the Tatar soldiers were slaughtered. The rage of Timour, on hearing of the fate of his soldiers, exceeded all bounds. The inhabitants, knowing what they had to expect, made a desperate but ineffectual resistance: the city was carried by storm, and 70,000 heads, built into pyramids, attested the savage revenge of the conqueror. After this horrid massacre, Timour proceeded to Shiraz, which, with the whole of Fars, submitted to his authority. The chiefs of Yezd and Kerman hastened also to tender their allegiance.

Timour had scarcely time to establish rulers over the provinces he had subdued, before he was recalled to repel an invasion of his native territories by the ruler of Kapshak (or Kipzak). The next five years were employed in chastising the invaders, and in extending the limits of his empire to the extremity of Tatory. One body of his troops spread dismay to the wall of

* Fars was at this time governed by Zein-ul-Abdeen, a prince of the race of Muzuffer, who had extended his authority over Isfahan and a great part of Irak. Shah Shujah, the father of this monarch, had courted the friendship of Timour, and, at his death, recommended his son to his protection. Zein-ul-Abdeen, instead of obeying the summons of the conqueror to attend his court, distrusting, perhaps, his friendship, confined the envoy who brought the mandate; and this contumacy afforded Timour a specious pretext for his invasion of Irak and Fars. Zein-ul-Abdeen saved himself by timely flight. Gibbon confounds this invasion (1387) with that in which Timour was encountered by the son and successor of that monarch, six years after.

China, while another army subdued the whole country as far as the Irtysh, and a third marched to the banks of the Volga.*

In the year 1392, Timour again turned his arms against Persia, advancing by the route of Mazanderan, all the chiefs of which hastened to acknowledge his supremacy. Amid the general ruin which he spread, he did the country the service of extirpating, upon this occasion, a band of assassins by whom the north-western provinces of Persia were infested, and who, under the assumed name of *Fedavee*, the Devoted, probably concealed the tenets of the sect of Ismailee. Early in the next year, Timour detached a division of his army through Adjerbijan and Kourdistan towards Bagdad, while the main body, under his own orders, moved by the province of Irak to the cities of Khorumabad† and Shuster. The strong hill-fort of

* Timour had, by his powerful aid, re-established Tochtamush Khan on the throne of Western Tatar, or "the Mogul empire of the North," when he fled before his enemies. "But after a reign of ten years," says Gibbon, "the new Khan forgot the merits and the strength of his benefactor; the base usurper, as he deemed him, of the sacred rights of the house of Zingis. Through the gates of Derbend, he entered Persia at the head of 90,000 horse. With the innumerable forces of Kipzak, Bulgaria, Circassia, and Russia, he passed the Sihoon, burned the palaces of Timour, and compelled him, amid the winter snows, to contend for Samarcand and his life. After a mild expostulation and a glorious victory, the emperor resolved on revenge; and, by the east and the west of the Caspian and the Volga, he twice invaded Kipzak with such mighty powers, that thirteen miles were measured from his right to his left wing. In a march of five months, they rarely beheld the footsteps of man; and their daily subsistence was often trusted to the fortune of the chase. At length, the armies encountered each other." Tochtamush was defeated, and fled to the Christian duke of Lithuania, but again returned to the banks of the Volga, and after fifteen battles with a domestic rival, perished in the wilds of Siberia.—GIBBON, ch. lxxv.

† About eighty miles from Kermanshah, in lat. 33° 32' N., long. 47° 43' E.

Kullah Suffeed (the White Fort), situated about 76 miles N.W. of Shiraz, had been deemed impregnable : and the conquest, achieved by stratagem, formed one of the principal feats of Roustum, the Persian Hercules. It was taken, however, by Timour, in this expedition : he then advanced on Shiraz. During his absence in Tatary, the brave Shah Munsoor, having succeeded his father in the government of Fars, had reconquered the greater part of his hereditary possessions ; and in the plains of Shiraz, he now disputed the further progress of the conqueror. At the head of between three and four thousand chosen warriors, well mounted and in complete armour, he twice charged and broke the centre of Timour's army ; and Timour himself had nearly fallen beneath the sword of this gallant antagonist : his helmet saved him.* But Munsoor's impetuous bravery was ill supported by the two wings of his little army ; and he was suffered to be surrounded and overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the enemy. He fell, and his head was immediately struck off, on seeing which, the Persian leopards, to use Timour's own expression, were turned into deers. The Tatars entered Shiraz, and all the princes of the race of Muzuffer submitted, and were put to death.

Timour next marched against Bagdad, then under the dominion of Sultan Ahmed Eel Khannee, of the race of Hulakoo, who fled at his approach. After receiving the submission of that place, he invested the fortress of Tukreel, supposed to be the ancient BIRTHA, between Bagdad and Mosul ; it was then held by a

* Timour appears to have been taken by surprise, and unarmed. He had only fourteen or fifteen attendants with him, when Shah Munsoor came up to him, and struck the emperor's helmet twice with his scimitar ; but the blows glanced along his arms. Timour stood firm as a rock, and never changed his posture.

notorious bandit named Hussun, whose depredations on the surrounding country rendered him an object of universal terror. The walls of the fort seemed impregnable, but Timour proceeded by sap, and for many days, 72,000 men of his army are stated to have been incessantly employed in undermining the fortifications. A breach having been made by springing the mine, the Tatars rushed in, and took the place by storm, Hussun and all the garrison being put to the sword.

The Tatar armies, after this arduous conquest, were dispersed over Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Kourdistan, and Georgia, all of which countries were subdued. In 1395, Timour again entered Tatar, to chastise Tochtamush Khan, the ruler of Kapshak, who had ventured to make an inroad into Shirwan. He was now attacked in his own territories, defeated,* and deprived of his crown. After traversing Kapshak, Timour entered the territories of the Oorooss Khan, or Lord of Russia, and marched as far as Moscow, which he took and plundered, A.D. 1396. The next year, he destroyed Astrakhan, and overran Georgia and Circassia, making himself master of all the strong holds of those mountainous countries.†

* Owing, it is said, to the treachery of his standard-bearer.

† It must have been in this *second* expedition, that the pursuit of a retreating enemy "carried Timour into the tributary provinces of Russia," when "a duke of the reigning family was made prisoner amid the ruins of his capital."—GIBBON. In this invasion, the Tatars carried off a great number of women and girls of all ages, and of extraordinary size and beauty. Gibbon throws doubt on the statement that Timour reached Moscow, which had been taken by Tochtamush six years before; but he admits that it trembled at the approach of the Tatar. His "Auruss Khan" is no other than the lord of *Oo Roos* or Russia. "On the banks of the Don or Tanais," he adds, Timour "received a humble deputation from the consuls and merchants of Egypt, Venice, Genoa, Cata-

After these conquests, he returned to Samarcand, to make preparations for new and still more splendid conquests in the East.

It was not to be expected, that India should escape the desolating ravages of this mighty destroyer. His generals had already subdued the country of the Afghauns and the greater part of Mooltan, when (in A.D. 1398), at the head of 92,000 horsemen, Timour invaded India in person.* A hundred thousand prisoners are said to have been taken before the army reached Delhi; and lest their numbers might embarrass his further operations, Timour, with unparalleled barbarity, ordered the whole of them without exception to be put to death. Delhi fell, after a short siege. The

lonia, and Biscay, who occupied the commerce and city of Tana or Azoph, at the mouth of the river. They offered their gifts, admired his magnificence, and trusted his royal word. But the peaceful visit of an emir, who explored the state of the magazines and harbour, was speedily followed by the destructive presence of the Tatars. The city was reduced to ashes; the Moslems were pillaged and dismissed; but all the Christians who had not fled to their ships, were condemned either to death or slavery. Revenge prompted him to burn the cities of Serai and Astrachan, the monuments of rising civilization; and his vanity proclaimed, that he had penetrated to the region of perpetual daylight,—a strange phenomenon, which authorised his Mahometan doctors to dispense with the obligation of evening prayer.”—GIBBON, ch. lxxv.

* In crossing the Indian Caucasus, great numbers of men and horses perished in the snow. “The emperor himself was let down a precipice on a portable scaffold: the ropes were 150 cubits in length, and, before he could reach the bottom, this dangerous operation was five times repeated. Timour crossed the Indus at the ordinary passage of the Attok, and successively traversed, in the footsteps of Alexander, the *Punjab*, or five rivers, that fall into the master-stream. On the eastern bank of the Hyphasis, on the edge of the Desert, the Macedonian hero halted and wept: the Mogul entered the desert, reduced the fortress of Batner, and stood in arms before the gates of Delhi, which had subsisted three centuries under the dominion of the Mahometan kings.”—GIBBON.

neighbouring city of Meerut was taken by storm, and all the male idolaters were flayed alive, the women and children being carried into captivity. In this atrocious policy, Timour professed to be guided by the precept of Mohammed. He then marched to subdue all the chieftains of the mountainous territory near the sources of the Ganges.* The conquest of Hindostan appears to have been completed in a single campaign; after which, Timour returned to Samarcand.

In the mean time, several of the deposed chiefs of the Persian and Georgian provinces had taken advantage of his being thus occupied, to recover their possessions. A season was spent before Georgia could again be reduced to subjection. Bagdad also was doomed a second time to feel the vengeance of the remorseless conqueror.† He then turned his arms against the Turks of Anatolia.‡ In the plains of Angora, the decisive action took place, in which Sultan Bayazeed (Bajazet Ilderim) lost his kingdom and his liberty. Every city which offered resistance to Ti-

* Gibbon states, that he advanced 100 miles to the N.E. of Delhi, and, after fighting several battles by land and water, penetrated to the famous rock of Coupele, the mouth of the Ganges, which "*seems to discharge*" the mighty Ganges. His return was along the skirts of the northern hills.

† "On the ruins of Bagdad he erected a pyramid of 90,000 heads."

‡ "The Mogul and Ottoman conquests now touched each other in the neighbourhood of Erzeroum and the Euphrates; nor had the doubtful limit been ascertained by time or treaty. Each of these ambitious monarchs might accuse his rival of violating his territory; of threatening his vassals and protecting his rebels; and by the name of rebels, each understood the fugitive princes whose kingdoms he had usurped, and whose life or liberty he implacably pursued. The resemblance of character was still more dangerous than the opposition of interest; and in their victorious career, Timour was impatient of an equal, and Bajazet was ignorant of a superior."—GIBBON.

mour's progress, was laid in ashes, and its inhabitants were massacred. This was the fate of Smyrna, to the attack of which Timour was invited by a report of the riches its citizens had acquired by its commerce with Europe. "We may form some judgement," remarks Sir John Malcolm, "of the comparative superiority of the Moghuls over the Turks in the art of war, by their having taken this city in fifteen days, which, with the same means of defence, had resisted the attack of Bayazeed for seven years."*

The authority of Timour, which had already been established in Syria, was now acknowledged from the Irtysh and the Volga to the Persian Gulf, and from the banks of the Ganges to the shores of the Mediterranean and the Bosphorus. Nor was this all. The Greek Emperor submitted to pay to the King of the World the same tribute which he had stipulated with the Turkish Sultan, ratifying the treaty by an oath of allegiance. The Sultan of Egypt acknowledged, by the honours of the prayer and the coin, the supremacy of Timour; and "a rare gift of a cameleopard and nine ostriches represented at his court the tri-

* Our limits will not allow of a more detailed account of Timour's Syrian and Ottoman wars, which are passed over by Sir John Malcolm, but more particularly noticed by Gibbon. Aleppo was surrendered either by cowardice or treachery; its plunder enriched the Tatars, and its streets streamed with the blood of their victims. At Damascus, Timour was "rudely encountered, and almost overthrown by the armies of Egypt;" but he afterwards gained possession of the city, by perfidiously violating a truce; when the inhabitants were massacred, and the city reduced to ashes. The losses and fatigues of this campaign obliged Timour to renounce the conquest of Palestine and Egypt. On his return to the Euphrates, he delivered Aleppo to the flames. It was after this inglorious campaign, that he entered Asia Minor, and overthrew the Turkish sultan, Bayazeed.—See MOD. TRAV., *Syria*, &c. vol. ii. p. 103.

bute of the African world." On the throne of Samarcand, Timour gave audience to the ambassadors of Egypt, Arabia, India, Tatar, Russia, and Spain, the last of whom presented a suit of tapestry which eclipsed the pencil of the Oriental artists. With the most imperial magnificence he celebrated the nuptials of his six grandsons; and for two months, the pomp of the ancient khalifs was revived and surpassed in the festivities of the Mogul court.*

In effecting these vast conquests, Timour had found it unavoidable to destroy a great number of true believers; and he now resolved, in his seventieth year, to attempt a pious achievement, the merit of which should expiate all his sins. This was nothing less than the extermination of the idolaters of China. The race of Chenghiz had been expelled from that empire, and Timour considered it as a point of national honour, as well as a religious duty, to reconquer the country. All his preparations being complete, he passed the Jaxartes when frozen, in the March of A.D. 1405. But his career had now reached its term. Illness compelled him to halt at the city of Otrar (or Tarab), seventy-six leagues from Samarcand; † and here, this great destroyer of his kind met with an enemy whom he could neither conquer nor elude. His character is thus impartially summed up by Sir John Malcolm.

* Gibbon. The Spanish monarch who sent two embassies to Timour, was Henry III. of Castile. "There appears likewise to have been some correspondence between the Mogul Emperor and the court of Charles VII., King of France."

† "Neither age nor the severity of the winter," says Gibbon, "could retard the impatience of Timour," who passed the Sihoon on the ice. "Fatigue and the indiscreet use of iced water accelerated the progress of his fever;" and he expired in the seventieth year of his age, thirty-five years after he had ascended the throne of Zagatal.

“ From the age of twenty to that of seventy, scarcely a day of this conqueror’s life was passed without action or danger ; and his experience as a soldier was, perhaps, as great as that of any man that ever lived. Timour naturally valued himself upon those qualities in which he excelled ; and he considered other men as useful, only as they were good warriors. To all such, he was the best of monarchs. ‘ I ordained,’ Timour states, ‘ that the right of the warrior should not be injured ; that the soldier who had grown in years should not be deprived of his station or wages ; and that the actions of the soldier should not be suppressed ; for those men,’ he adds, ‘ who sell their permanent happiness for perishable honour, merit compensation, and are worthy of reward and encouragement.’...Such a leader must have been idolized by his soldiers ; and with an army of six or seven hundred thousand men attached to his person, he was careless of the opinion of other classes of the community. The object of this monarch was fame as a conqueror ; and a noble city was laid in ashes, or the inhabitants of a province were massacred, on a cold calculation that a dreadful impression would be made, which would facilitate the purposes of his ambition. He pretended to be very religious, was rigid in performing his sacred duties, and paid attention to pious men, who, in return for his favour, used to assure him that God had given the countries of other monarchs to his victorious sword. The parade which he made of these prophecies, proves that he either believed in them, or that he thought they might produce an effect favourable to his designs... Timour, though one of the greatest of warriors, was one of the worst of monarchs. He was able, brave, and generous, but ambitious, cruel, and oppressive. He considered the happiness of every human being as

a feather in the scale, when weighed against the advancement of what he deemed his personal glory ; and that appears to have been measured by the number of kingdoms which he laid waste, and the people he destroyed. The vast fabric of his power had no foundation : it was upheld by his individual fame ; and the moment that he died, his empire dissolved. Some fragments of it were seized by his children, but it was in India alone that they retained dominion for any length of time. In that country, we yet perceive a faint and expiring trace of the former splendour of the Moghul dynasty. A pageant, supported by the British nation, still sits upon a throne at Delhi : we view in him the gradual decline of human greatness, and wonder at the state to which a few centuries have reduced the lineal descendants of the great Timour.”*

Timour had bequeathed his crown to his grandson, Peer Mohammed Jehangheer ; but that prince was at Candahar when his father died, and Khulleel Sultaun, another grandson, who was with the army, being supported by several powerful chiefs, obtained possession of Samarcand. A civil contest ensued, which was terminated by the assassination of Peer Mohammed through the treachery of his own minister. Khulleel did not long enjoy his elevation. The successor of Timour was the slave of a beautiful and extravagant mistress ; and the treasures which had been amassed by the conquest of half the world, were squandered by her infatuated lover to gratify her vanity or ambition. The high-born ladies of the haram saw with disgust a woman of low birth and dissolute character raised above them. A conspiracy was the result of

* Malcolm, vol. i. ch. xiii. See also Gibbon, ch. lxxv. The latter historian accumulates in a single note nearly 300,000 heads, the monuments of his cruelty.

the general dissatisfaction. Khulleel was seized, and sent a prisoner to Kashgar, while the beautiful Shad-ul-Mulk was led in chains through the streets of Samarcand, amid the insults of an irritated populace. It is not a little remarkable, that her life, as well as that of her royal lover, should have been spared. On hearing of the expulsion of his nephew, Sultan Shah Rokh, the fourth son of Timour, who held the government of Khorasan, hastened to make himself master of the empire; and Khulleel willingly resigned the throne of Samarcand to regain his beautiful mistress, together with the province of Khorasan. On his death, which happened a few years afterwards, Shad-ul Mulk stabbed herself, and the lovers were buried in one tomb in the city of Rhé.

Shah Rokh was a humane and generous prince, who, imitating the virtuous son of Chenghiz, Octai, sought to repair, rather than to extend the ravages committed by his father. He rebuilt the walls of Herat and Merve, and restored tranquillity and prosperity to his dominions. His splendid court was the resort of men of science and learning; and a curious account has been preserved of the pacific embassies which passed between him and the Emperor of China. During a reign of thirty-eight years, the only wars in which he appears to have been engaged, were with the Turkoman tribes of Anatolia, who had taken possession of Adjerbijan; and his success appears to have been confined to the recovery of that province. He died in the year 1446, at the age of seventy-one, and was succeeded by his son, Ulugh Beg. This prince inherited the pacific and enlightened character of his father. He assembled all the astronomers of his kingdom, and the celebrated tables which are known by his name, were the result of their labours. His

reign was short, and its termination most calamitous : he was defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death by his own son, Abdul Lateef, who, at the end of six months, was slain by his own soldiers.

After the death of Ulugh Beg, the descendants of Timour contended with each other for the various provinces of the dismembered empire, till they were all compelled to yield to the victorious Uzbeks and Turkomans. Baber, the grandson of Shah Rokh, succeeded in maintaining himself in Khorasan ; and at his death, was succeeded by Abou Seyd, the great grandson of Timour, and the grandfather of the justly-celebrated Mohammed Baber, the emperor of Hindostan. Abou Seyd lost his life in an expedition against the Turkomans. On his death, Sultan Hussein Meerza, a descendant of Timour, and the patron of the celebrated Persian historian, Khondemir (Cantemir), made himself master of the empire, and, by his successes against both his rivals and their common foes, obtained the title of *Ghâzee*, the victorious. But his fortune declined before that of the Uzbek conqueror, Sheibani Khan ; and his son and successor, the last of the race of Timour who reigned in Persia, fleeing before the invaders of his territory, took refuge under the protection of Shah Ismail, the first monarch of the Suffavean dynasty. He settled at Tabriz, and when the Ottoman emperor, Selim, took that city, Hussein became his prisoner, and died at Constantinople.

The prince from whom Sultan Abou Seyd sustained his overthrow, was Uzun Hussun (Hussun the Long) or Kassim, the chief of the Turkomans of the White Sheep,* who had established a powerful principality

* The tribes of *Kara-koin-loo* and *Ak-koin-loo* were so called

in Diarbekir. The more powerful tribe of the Black Sheep had taken possession of Adjerbijan, whence they extended their conquests over Georgia, part of Irak, Fars, and Kerman. Between the ruling families of these two tribes, a deadly feud existed, which terminated in the defeat of Jehan Shah, the chieftain of the Black Sheep, and the extermination of his family. Uzun Hussun, the victor, by this means became the master of Persia. But his career of greatness was arrested by the superior genius of the Ottoman emperor, Mohammed II., from whom he sustained a signal defeat. The Republic of Venice had sent an envoy to the court of Uzun Hussun, to solicit his aid against the Turks, who informs us, that his army amounted at that time to 50,000 horse. After a reign of eleven years, he died at the age of seventy. His sons, grandsons, and nephews contended with each other for his territories, and by their dissensions, which accelerated their own ruin, prepared the way for the establishment of a dynasty of a very different character.

Shah Ismail, who may be considered as the restorer of the Persian monarchy, was, on his mother's side, the grandson of Uzun Hussun. His father traced his descent from Moossah, the seventh imaum; and the family had long maintained a reputation for hereditary sanctity. The first of his ancestors who had acquired any distinguished reputation, was Shaikh Suffee-u-deen ("the purity of the faith"), from whom this dynasty takes its name of Suffavean. He was succeeded by Sudder-u-deen ("the pre-eminent of the faith"), whose odour of sanctity attracted even the great Timour to his cell. The conqueror asked the holy man, from their carrying the figures of a black and a white sheep in their respective standards.

what favour he could confer upon him. "Release those prisoners you have brought from Roum" (Turkey), was the noble answer. Timour complied with the generous request; and the grateful tribes declared themselves the devoted disciples of the saint to whom they owed their liberty. Their children held sacred the obligation of their fathers, and the descendants of the captives of Timour enabled the son of a devotee to ascend the throne of Persia.

Juneyd, the grandfather of Shah Ismail, who inherited the sacred mantle of his father,* was attended by so great a crowd of disciples, that Jehan Shah, the chief of the tribe of Black Sheep, became alarmed at their numbers, and banished him from Ardebil. He repaired to Diarbekir, where he met with the warmest reception from Uzun Hussun, who gave him his sister in marriage. Juneyd lost his life in a conflict with the ruler of Shirwan, in which province he had attempted to establish himself. His son, Sultan Hyder, the nephew and son-in-law of Uzun Hussun, was equally unfortunate in an attempt, many years afterwards, to revenge his father's death: he was defeated

* "The mantles or patched garments which are used by ascetics or Sooffee teachers, have always been, in the East, objects of religious veneration. The legacy of the mantle is, in fact, the mode by which these holy men transfer their empire over the minds of their disciples, to their successors. Their power is grounded upon their sacred character; and that rests upon their poverty and contempt of worldly goods. Their mantle is in general their all; and its transfer, therefore, marks their heir. Some of these mantles can be traced several centuries; and their value increases with their age. They become relics, which are almost worshipped; and their envied possessor has many disciples and followers who venerate the tattered and patched garment more than the person who wears it."—MALCOLM, vol. i. p. 497. This custom strikingly illustrates the conduct of Elijah in bequeathing his mantle to his successor.—See 1 Kings xix. 19, 2 Kings ii. 13, 14,

and slain by the governor of Shirwan. His remains were honoured with canonization; and the tomb of the warlike martyr, as he was deemed, became a place of resort to his followers. In the anarchy which followed the death of Uzun, the three sons of Hyder were for some time held state prisoners, being objects of jealousy to the ruling prince. They at length made their escape to Ardebil, but, before they could collect their adherents in sufficient force, Aly, the elder brother, was slain. The other brothers fled to Ghilan, where the elder of the two died.

Ismail, the third son of Sultan Hyder, was only fourteen, when, placing himself at the head of his adherents, he marched against the great enemy of his family, the king of Shirwan, whom he defeated. A second victory over the tribe of the White Sheep, whose ruler advanced to crush the young warrior, rendered Ismail master of Adjerbijan. The next year, he marched into Irak, and overthrew Sultan Moorad, another Turkoman prince, in a great action fought near Hamadan. Following up these successes, in less than four years from his leaving Ghilan, the son of Hyder became the acknowledged sovereign of Western Persia. After he had reduced the whole of the Persian provinces to his authority, he attacked and took Bagdad, annexing its territory to his dominions. In the following year, he encountered the Uzbegs in Khorasan, defeated and slew their chief, Shahibeg Khan, and gained possession of that large and valuable province. He next proceeded to Bulkh, which he also subdued, and then returned to Koom. He subsequently repelled with success a fresh invasion of the Uzbegs. But this career of uninterrupted success was destined at length to receive a check from the powerful head of the orthodox moslems, Sultan Selim, who

advanced from Constantinople, at the head of a numerous army, to chastise the heretic Sheeahs* of Persia and their royal saint, whom the Turkish Soonees denounced as the slave of Satan. An action took place (A.D. 1514) on the frontiers of Adjerbijan, in which the Persian monarch suffered a complete defeat. Among other officers of rank, Meer Syud Shereef, the *sudder ul suddoor* or chief pontiff of the kingdom, was slain. Ismail, who had contemplated victory in this holy contest as the consummation of his glory, exerted himself with the most desperate valour at the head of his cavalry; but the cannon of Selim decided the action in favour of the Soonees; and the effect of this defeat upon the sanguine mind of Shah Ismail was so deep and lasting, that he was never afterwards seen to smile. The death of Selim encouraged him to cross the Araxes, and to attack Georgia, which he subdued; but this was the last of his conquests. He died at Ardebil, in the year 1519, whither he had gone on a pilgrimage to the tomb of his father.

* "It was in his active and invincible hatred to all Soonees, (that is, to all persons who believed in the superior right of the three caliphs who preceded Aly,) that the disciple of the family of Suffee recognised himself as a zealous follower of the new faith he had adopted; and the very name of *sheeah* (sectary), which his enemies had given as a reproach, was changed into a title in which he gloried.... Ismail took full advantage of the enthusiasm of his disciples to cherish feelings so essential for the political greatness of the empire he governed.... He is styled in their histories *Shah Shean*, the king of the Sheahs; an appellation which marks the affection with which his memory is regarded."—MALCOLM, vol. i. pp. 502—5. On the other hand, Selim proclaimed his expedition against Ismail to be a religious war; and the arrogant style of the orthodox defender of the faith was supported by the Turkish Ulema, who declared, in the *fetwahs* issued at the commencement of the war, that there was more merit in killing one Persian Sheah, than in destroying seventy Christians.—D'OHSSON, cited by Malcolm.

Shah Tamasp was only ten years of age when he succeeded to the throne, and his reign extends over a period of fifty-three years. He was the contemporary of the Turkish Emperor Soliman, and the English Queen Elizabeth. The early part of his reign was disturbed by civil contests between the chiefs of rival tribes, the periodical irruptions of the Uzbegs, and a Turkish invasion. The war with Turkey was maintained with varying success during many years; but the disorders which prevailed in the Ottoman empire during the latter years of the reign of Soliman, gave Persia a respite from that quarter, and favoured the age and indolence of Shah Tamasp, who, having fixed his residence at Kazvin, gave over the charge of his armies to his generals. One of the most distinguishing events of his reign was the munificent reception which he gave to the fugitive sovereign of Hindostan, the Emperor Hoomâyoon. All the resources of the kingdom were called forth to do honour to the royal guest, and they were not less liberally furnished to assist in replacing him on the throne; an act which obtained for the Persian "Sophy" the applause of distant nations. In this reign, Mr. Anthony Jenkinson, a British merchant, was sent out by Queen Elizabeth to visit the court of Persia, with the view of opening a commercial intercourse between the two countries. On being introduced to his majesty, the first inquiry made by Tamasp related not to the object of his mission, but to the belief of the envoy, whether he was a *gaur* (unbeliever) or a moslem. The Englishman replied, that he was neither, but a Christian; on which the monarch said, that he was in no need of infidels, and bade him depart.*

* Malcolm, i. 513. Queen Elizabeth's letter, which was in Latin and English, is given by Hakluyt.

Shah Tamasp had bequeathed the crown to his fifth son, Hyder Meerza ; but the faction which supported the interests of his fourth son, Ismail, prevailed, and Hyder was massacred. The first act of Ismail was to put to death all the princes of the blood at Kazvin, except one, who was deprived of sight. His own death, occasioned by a debauch, alone prevented the execution of the mandate which had been issued, to put to death Mahomed Meerza, the eldest son of Tamasp, with all his family, including the infant Abbas, who was destined to restore the glory of the Persian empire.

The short reign of Sultan Mahomed Meerza (surnamed Khodah-bundah, the slave of God) was unfortunate and inglorious. Conscious of his own insufficiency, he intrusted the direction of affairs to his able vizier, Meerza Soliman, to whom he was indebted for the first successes of his reign. The triple invasion of the empire by the Turks, the Uzbegs, and the Tatars of Kapshak, was ably repelled ; and two impostors who personated the deceased Ismail, were successively defeated and put to death. But in Khorasan, the nobles declared for the young prince Abbas ; and Meerza, after an ineffectual attempt to reduce that province to obedience, fell into disgrace, or rather, was abandoned by his weak and ungrateful sovereign to the rage of his enemies, by whom he was put to death. The fortunes of Mahomed were upheld for some time by the valour and character of his eldest son, Humza Meerza ; but the gallant prince fell under the blow of an assassin, and the power of the father terminated at the death of his son. In the confusion which ensued, Murshud Kooli Khan, one of the ambitious chieftains who supported Abbas as a means of establishing their own power, marched with the young prince to Kazvin,

of which he took possession without opposition, Mo-hamed having repaired to Shiraz, to suppress a rebellion in that city. From this time, Abbas was recognised as the sovereign of Persia, although Murshud Kooli Khan exercised all the functions of royalty. The mind of Abbas was not framed, however, to be content with the shadow of power, and he resolved to free himself from this bondage by causing his protector to be put to death.

The elevation of Shah Abbas to the throne dates from A.D. 1585. The first two or three years of his reign were occupied in restoring internal tranquillity to his dominions, and in repairing the disastrous effects of foreign invasion.* No sooner had he quitted Kho-rasan, to secure his throne, than the Uzbegs invaded that province. Herat, after a defence of nine months, fell into their hands, and was given up to plunder; and in the following year, Mushed, the capital, was taken by the same savage invaders, and all its inhabitants were massacred. As their chief object was plunder, they always retired before the Persian forces; but at length, in the year 1597, Abbas succeeded in bringing them to action near Herat, and obtained a complete victory, which gave the province a long respite from their periodical inroads. While the king was extending his territories in that direction as far as Bulkh, his generals were employed in reducing the mountainous district of Laristan, and the islands of the Persian Gulf.

It was on the return of Shah Abbas to his capital, after his victory over the Uzbegs, that the two bro-

* Irritated by the repeated rebellions of the province of Ghilan, whose chief was attached to the Turkish interest, Abbas is stated to have ordered a general massacre of its inhabitants on reducing it in A.D. 1593.

thers, Sir Anthony and Sir Robert Sherley, at the head of twenty-six followers, "gallantly mounted and richly furnished," presented themselves to the Persian monarch, as English soldiers of fortune who desired the honour of entering his service. Pleased and flattered with the occurrence, Shah Abbas gave them the most gracious reception; and to the counsel and instructions of the two brothers, the Persians were indebted for the introduction of European discipline into the army, and the use of artillery.* While Sir Robert remained at the Persian court, to superintend these improvements, Sir Anthony volunteered his services as a diplomatist, and was intrusted with a special mission to the Christian sovereigns of Europe, the object of which was to obtain their co-operation in opposing the Turks.† He proceeded first to the court of Moscow, where, however, he was regarded with suspicion and jealousy, and was for some time imprisoned. On obtaining his release, he prosecuted his journey to the court of the German emperor; by whom, as well as by other sovereigns, he was warmly welcomed.

* In Purchas's *Pilgrims* occurs the following curious passage, written by a contemporary: "The mighty Ottoman, terror of the Christian world, quaketh of a Sherly fever, and gives hopes of approaching fates. The prevailing Persian hath learned Sherleian arts of war; and he which before knew not the use of ordnance, hath now five hundred pieces of brass and sixty thousand musketeers: so that they which at hand with the sword were before dreadful to the Turks, now also in remoter blows and sulfurian arts, are grown terrible."

† In the credentials which Abbas gave Sir Anthony Sherley, (who is styled Meerza Antonio,) the Mohammedan monarch called upon all the princes who believed in Jesus, to embrace his friendship. At the same time, he issued a firmaun, securing to all Christian merchants who might trade with Persia, the fullest protection of their persons and property, and the free exercise of their religion. Translations of these curious documents are given by Sir John Malcolm.

In the year 1602, Shah Abbas commenced the war against the Emperor of Constantinople, for which he had long been making preparations, by the capture of Nahavund, the fortifications of which he levelled with the ground. He then marched into Adjerbijan, and having defeated the Turkish commander, made himself master of Tabriz, which had been for eighteen years in the possession of the Turks. Erivan, which the Persians proceeded to invest, fell early in the next season. In the mean time, the Turks had raised an immense army, amounting, according to some accounts, to a hundred thousand men, supported by artillery, while Shah Abbas had little more than half that number to oppose to them. On the 24th of August, 1605, a decisive action took place, in which the new tactics of the Persian Shah obtained a complete victory. Five Turkish pashas were taken; the same number were slain; and the king continued to receive the heads of his enemies till midnight, when they amounted, it is said, to 20,545. Sir Robert Sherley received three wounds in this action. Following up his successes, Shah Abbas expelled the Turks from all their possessions along the shores of the Caspian, as well as from Adjerbijan, Georgia, Kourdistan, and the territories of Bagdad, Mosul, and Diarbekir; and though a constant skirmishing was kept up on the frontier provinces, even after a formal proclamation of peace between the courts of Isfahan and Constantinople, the Turks were unable, during the reign of Abbas, to recover any of the ground they had lost.

In this reign, one of the most fatal blows was struck against the empire of the Portuguese in the East, by the capture of the island of Ormuz, which had been in their possession for more than a century, and had become the emporium of the Indian trade. Abbas beheld

with envy its prosperity, the source of which he ill understood; and he imagined that its conquest would add to both the glory and the wealth of his kingdom. But he was well aware that it would be impossible to succeed without the aid of a naval equipment; and by high bribes and boundless promises, the agents of the English East India Company were induced to become the instruments of destroying this noble settlement. The island of Kishme first surrendered to the English, to avoid falling into the hands of the Persians. Ormuz was bravely defended; but, worn down at length by hunger and fatigue, and hopeless of succour, the garrison acceded to a convention with the British, which secured them a safe passage to Muscat or India. The city was given up to the Persians, by whom it was soon stripped of every thing valuable, and left to a natural decay. Abbas was overjoyed at the conquest; but all the magnificent plans he had formed, terminated in his conferring on Gomberoon the name of Bunder Abbas (Port Abbas). The sanguine expectations of commercial advantage which had been cherished by the agents of the East India Company, were completely frustrated by the positive refusal of Abbas to allow his allies to fortify Ormuz or any other island in the Gulf. The history of the English factory at Gomberoon, from this date till it was finally abandoned, presents a series of disgraces, dangers, and losses; and though Shah Abbas continued to treat the Sherleys with every mark of confidence and favour, and gave an honourable reception to an English mission,* his ministers defeated every attempt to establish a beneficial commerce between the two nations.

* Sir Thomas Herbert, who attended Sir Dodmore Cotton, the British ambassador, has given the history of this mission; and he ascribes its failure to the intrigues of the favourite minister of

The internal administration of this accomplished despot has entitled him to be remembered by the natives with grateful veneration. The long tranquillity which the country enjoyed, is to be ascribed chiefly to the wisdom and energy of his measures; and a more striking proof cannot be given of the salutary and efficient character of his beneficent despotism, than the fact, that the population of the kingdom was more than doubled during his reign. He made Isfahan his capital; and its principal mosque, the noble palace of Chehel Setoon, the beautiful palace and gardens called *Châr Bâgh* (Four Gardens), the principal bridge over the Zeindehrood, and several other public edifices, were all the work of this prince. Mushed also was greatly ornamented by him; and the cities of Ashraff and Ferrahabad, in Mazanderan, were adorned with several royal mansions. "But these," adds Sir John Malcolm, "were his meanest works. He carried, at an immense expense, a causey across the whole of Mazanderan,* and rendered that difficult country passable for armies and travellers at all seasons. He threw bridges over almost all the rivers of Persia; and the traveller in that country found, in every direction, the most solid and spacious caravanserais, which had been erected by the royal munificence of this monarch." The Armenian colony which he formed at Isfahan,

Abbas, whom he styles "a most pragmatICAL pagan." Sir Dodmore Cotton and Sir Robert Sherley died a few months after their arrival at court, and the rest of the mission returned to England.

* The causey of Mazanderan runs from Kiskar on the S.W. of the Caspian, several leagues beyond Asterabad, being about 300 miles in length. In some parts, it is hardly more than twenty yards wide, with ditches on each side; and there are many bridges upon it, under which the water is conveyed to the rice-fields. The pavement is still perfect in many places, although it has hardly ever been repaired.—KINNEIR'S *Memoir*, p. 166.

remains an honourable monument of his wise and liberal policy. In his wars with the Turks, he had taken prisoners a number of Armenian families; and instead of making them slaves, and compelling them to change their religion, as his predecessors had done in similar cases, he settled them in different parts of his kingdom, and not only gave them liberty to build churches, but granted them many other important privileges, and afforded them the most liberal encouragement. In 1603, when Shah Abbas marched to Julfa, in Armenia, the inhabitants rose against the Turkish officers, and carried both the keys of the town and the revenue that had been collected, to the Persian monarch, who ever afterwards treated them with marked favour and indulgence. Five thousand were transplanted to a new suburb of Isfahan, built for their accommodation, which received the name of Julfa; and by the great trade which they carried on with India and other quarters, these industrious emigrants speedily enriched themselves, and advanced the general prosperity of the empire. Abbas sought to benefit his favourite province of Mazanderan by a similar establishment;* but its unhealthy climate defeated his project, a great proportion of the colonists dying in a few years. To all classes of Christians in his dominions, Abbas was particularly favourable; and he is even reported, on credible authority, to have stood godfather to the first-born child of Sir Robert Sherley by a Circassian lady whom the monarch had bestowed upon him as a wife.† Yet, he affected a

* "That country," he pleasantly observed, "as it abounded with wine and hogs, would be a paradise to Christians."

† Preacher's Travels in Harleian Voyages. Malcolm, vol. I. p. 559. It even appears that Shah Abbas was at one time formally baptized; an event to which the Jesuits ascribed all the victories

rigid piety as a Moslem, except in reference to the law of the prophet forbidding wine. There was hardly a year in which he did not perform a pilgrimage to some holy shrine. He went on foot from Isfahan to Mushed, to mark his respect for the imaum Mehdee, whose tomb is in that city; and during the fortnight that he passed at Nujuff, he daily swept the tomb of Aly; an honourable office, which none but persons of exemplary life are allowed to discharge.

In his judicial administration, Shah Abbas is represented to have been very strict and severe, "not sparing to hang up his chief caddi or judges," in cases of notorious malversation. The kingdom to which he succeeded, was in an unsettled state: the nobles were bold and seditious; the governors were addicted to extortion and oppression. Under such circumstances, it was, perhaps, necessary to make some dreadful examples of offenders, in order to secure the tranquillity of the country. To repress the ambition of the *Kuzel-bash* clans, Abbas put to death several of the principal chiefs, and reduced the number of that formidable body to 30,000 men. At the same time, he formed a clan of his own, to which he gave the title of *Shah Sevund*, the king's friends; and this tribe of personal adherents soon became extremely powerful and numerous. Besides these, he formed a new corps of ten thousand horse and twelve thousand foot, composed chiefly of captives from Georgia, Iberia, and Armenia, who constituted a royal body-guard. The infantry, called *tuffungshee*, or musketeers, were the first ever imbodyed in Persia.*

with which his arms were crowned against the Turks and Tatars; and he allowed the Catholics to establish a small convent at Isfahan.—MURRAY'S *Hist. of Discoveries*, vol. iii. p. 45.

* Abbas is said to have intended them chiefly to oppose the

In his domestic character, Abbas appears at once in an execrable and a pitiable light. His four sons, on rising to manhood, became the objects of a restless jealousy, for which it is impossible to say how far their conduct, or that of intriguing nobles, might furnish cause. The history of Persia abounds with instances of sons who have become parricides to anticipate their succession to the throne, and of fathers who have imbrued their hands in the blood of their heirs. The eldest son of Abbas was murdered at his own instigation, under the idea that the young prince sought his life; and the younger two (the second being already dead) were both deprived of sight by order of their unhappy parent. The grief and remorse into which he was plunged by the execution of his fatal orders, must be admitted as a proof that he was not inaccessible to tender emotions; and his last days were embittered, if not shortened, by the domestic tragedy.* He died in his favourite palace at Ferrá-

yangi-chera or janissaries of Turkey. The *Shah Sevund* still exists in Persia, though with diminished numbers. It could once boast of more than a hundred thousand families. *Kuzel-bash* (golden heads) was the name given to the seven Turkish tribes to whom Shah Ismail was chiefly indebted for his elevation and success, and which they derived from their red caps. They were the sworn defenders of the Sheah tenets, and appear to have been originally transplanted by Timour from Syria and Anatolia.

* After the death of his eldest son, Abbas, we are told, a prey to remorse, shut himself up in his palace for a month, covered his eyes for ten days, and wore mourning for a year. He ever afterwards wore the plainest clothes, and made the place where the prince died, a sanctuary for criminals. He put to death every one of the courtiers who had poisoned his mind against his son. For the assassin he reserved a more inhuman punishment. He commanded him to bring him the head of his own son. When the devoted slave presented the dreadful offering, Abbas demanded with bitter scorn, how he felt. "Miserable," was the reply. "You should be happy," said the monarch, "for you are ambitious, and in

hâbad, in Mazanderan, at the age of seventy, A.D. 1628, and in the forty-fourth year of his reign.

To sum up his character in the words of the Historian whom we have chiefly followed: "There have been few sovereigns in the universe, who have done more substantial good to their country, than Abbas the Great. He established an internal tranquillity throughout Persia, that had been unknown for centuries. He put an end to the annual ravages of the Uzbegs, and confined those plunderers to their own dominions. He completely expelled the Turks from his native territories, of which they held some of the finest provinces when he ascended the throne. Justice was in general administered according to the laws of religion; and the king seldom interfered, except to support the law, or to punish those who thought themselves above it. Though possessed of great means, and distinguished as a military leader, he deemed the improvement of his own wide possessions a nobler object than the pursuit of conquest. He attended to the cultivation and commerce of Persia beyond all former monarchs, and his plans for effecting his objects were almost all of a nature that shewed the greatness of his mind. The bridges, caravanserais, and other useful public buildings that he erected, were without number. The impression which his noble munificence made upon the minds of his subjects, has descended to their children. The modern traveller who inquires the name of the founder of any

your feelings you are at this moment the equal of your sovereign." The death of his son Khodah-bundah was still more tragical. On learning that Abbas discovered a doating fondness for his granddaughter Fatima, the unhappy parent resolved to destroy his own child, to revenge himself on his cruel father. He learned with joy the rage and despair the unnatural deed produced in the mind of Abbas, and concluded the scene by swallowing poison.

ancient building in Persia, receives the ready answer, 'Shah Abbas the Great;' which is given, not from an exact knowledge that he was the founder, but from the habit of considering him as the author of all improvement. We cannot suppose that a prince of this character could delight in cruelty; and to whatever actions the stern dictates of policy, the jealousy of power, the infirmity of age, or the artful intrigues of base flatterers, may have led Abbas in his latter years, we must not hastily consign to execration, the memory of a monarch, who restored Persia to a condition of greatness beyond what that country had known for ages; who was brave, generous, and wise; and who, during a reign protracted to near half a century, seemed to have no object but that of rendering his kingdom flourishing, and his subjects happy. An eminent and impartial writer, Chardin, has, in stating one historical fact, furnished us with the noblest eulogy upon the character of Abbas. 'When this great prince,' he observes, 'ceased to live, Persia ceased to 'prosper.'''*

Shah Suffee (Sam Meerza), who succeeded his grandfather, was a cruel and capricious tyrant, and his reign was alike calamitous and inglorious. His jealousy led him to put to death, or to deprive of sight, almost every prince of the blood, every minister, and every general who had enjoyed office or distinction in the reign of Abbas. His own mother, who had enraged him by her free remonstrances, is said to have shared the fate of all who ventured to give him counsel; and in a fit of intoxication, he stabbed his favourite queen. Yet, he was suffered to reign in peace for fourteen years, and died at Kashan, A.D. 1641. In

* Malcolm, vol. pp. i. 566, 7.

this reign, Bagdad was lost to the Turks, and Candahar revolted in favour of the sovereign of Delhi.*

Abbas the Second was only ten years old when he ascended the throne on the death of his father ; and he, of course, fell into the hands of his ministers, who happened to be persons of very religious and austere habits. All drunkards were removed from office ; the use of wine was strictly prohibited ; and the manners of the court underwent a total transformation. As the young monarch advanced in years, he grew impatient, however, of these trammels ; and his love of wine, in which he often indulged to excess, was the cause of all the evils of his otherwise happy and prosperous reign. Naturally humane and generous, in his drunken frolics he committed the most wanton cruelties. Yet, as the consequences of these excesses were for the most part limited to the circle of his court, his subjects at large knew this prince in no other character than that of one of the most generous and just of rulers. “ To the public officers of government, he was severe ; but, to the poor, mild and lenient ; and the lives and property of his subjects were efficiently protected. He was as tolerant to all religions as his great ancestor whose name he had taken. To Christians, indeed, he always shewed the most marked favour. He used often to declare the principle by which his conduct on this point was regulated. ‘ *It is for God,*’ Abbas was wont to observe, ‘ *not for me,*

* Sir John Malcolm supposes that the cruelties of Shah Suffee proceeded more from cowardice than from natural depravity. His countenance was remarkable for its soft and pleasing expression ; but he had been brought up a state prisoner amid women and eunuchs, and was consequently licentious, effeminate, the slave of his passions, and intoxicated with power. In this reign, the system of intendants or receivers-general was introduced into the central provinces, in lieu of hereditary military governors or feudal lords,

*to judge of men's consciences ; and I will never interfere with what belongs to the tribunal of the great Creator and Lord of the Universe.' ” **

In this reign, Candahar was recovered. Two fugitive princes of the Uzbegs were successively received by the Persian monarch with the most generous and splendid hospitality. With the Ottoman court, peace was maintained throughout the life of Abbas ; and his vanity was gratified by embassies from almost all the courts of Europe, as well as from India and the remotest regions of Tataria. His conduct towards the captive Khan of Georgia, whose life had been spent in hostility to him, affords an honourable instance of generous clemency. Abbas not only pardoned him, but loaded him with favours, and obtained the release of his grandson, who was a prisoner or hostage in Russia. This monarch closed, at the early age of thirty-four, a prosperous reign of nearly twenty-five years, A.D. 1666 ; the victim, there is reason to suppose, of his intemperance.

The long reign of his son, Suffee Meerza, who assumed the title of Shah Soliman, is unmarked by any event of importance. He was a weak, effeminate, and dissolute prince, but was fortunate in his ministers, owing to whose virtues and able character, the country remained tranquil ; strangers were encouraged and protected, and foreigners from every quarter resorted to Persia.† The splendour of Soliman's court equalled that of the most magnificent of his predecessors. The Uzbegs, however, renewed in this reign their annual invasions of Khorasan ; the shores of the Caspian suffered by the predatory incursions of the

* Malcolm, vol. i. p. 583.

† One of the most splendid embassies was from France, which reached Isfahan in 1673.

Tatars of Kapshak ; and the island of Kishme, in the Persian Gulf, was seized by the Dutch. No attempt was made by the pusillanimous monarch to repel or to punish these aggressions ; and the power and spirit of the nation were evidently on the decline. The first twenty years of Sultan Hussein, his son and successor, passed in that deep calm which often precedes a storm. Eunuchs and moollahs filled all the stations of power and dignity ; the Sooffees and all other secretaries were persecuted at the instigation of intolerant priests ; and it was, perhaps, Sir John Malcolm remarks, one of the most dangerous symptoms of the condition of the nation, that the conduct of its weak and superstitious monarch provoked neither opposition nor revolt. At length, the storm which had been long collecting, burst upon this devoted nation. While the Soonee tribes of Kourdistan, growing bolder through impunity, ravaged the north-western provinces to the very walls of Isfahan, and the Arabs of Muscat made themselves masters of the islands in the Gulf, the Affghans of Herat and Candahar, in league with the Uzbegs, invaded, at different points, the eastern provinces of Kerman and Khorasan. The general gloom which these misfortunes spread over the kingdom, was deepened by earthquakes and meteorological appearances, which were converted by superstition into portents and symbols of the Divine wrath.*

The last of the Suffees had not the poor consolation of being overthrown by an illustrious or powerful enemy. The Affghan army by which, in 1722, the

* In 1721, Tabriz was completely destroyed by an earthquake, in which nearly 80,000 persons are supposed to have perished. During ten days, the sun was veiled, and the horizon assumed a red or bloody colour. The clouds being denser than usual, the sun continued to have a blood-red appearance for nearly two months.

capital was invested and taken, is said not to have amounted to 20,000 men, and they were wholly unprovided with artillery. Yet, by this insignificant force, a Persian army with a train of twenty-four pieces of cannon, was defeated under the walls of Isfahan. Unable to reduce the city by assault, the Affghan invaders laid waste the fertile country in its vicinity; and the lapse of a century has not repaired the ruin which his barbarous policy effected by the toils of his army for more than a month. Broken canals, sterile fields, and mounds of ruins, still attest the zeal and success with which they laboured in this work of destruction. The famine upon which the invader calculated, soon commenced; and during a cruelly protracted negotiation for the surrender of the city, its horrors deepened, till, every loathsome article of food beginning to fail, the last dreadful and unnatural resource was adopted, of devouring human flesh.* In a climate less pure, the air must soon have become infected by the numbers of unburied corpses; but, although the waters of the Zeindeh-rood were so contaminated as to be hardly drinkable, no contagion appeared. The capital and the empire might have been saved by a vigorous sally; but the people in vain demanded to be led against the enemy. The infatuated monarch listened only to the artful counsels of a traitor. At length, on the 22nd of October, 1722, after taking a solemn leave of his subjects, Hussein

* Towards the end of August, (the siege lasted from March till the close of October,) a horse's carcase sold for one thousand crowns. Dogs, though esteemed unclean, were greedily devoured as long as they were to be obtained. The leaves and bark of trees and leather afforded a partial supply. At last, "the citizens slew each other, and parents murdered their children to furnish the horrid meal." All who tried to escape, were massacred by the Affghans.—MALCOLM, vol. i. p. 641.

signed a capitulation, by which he resigned his crown to Mahmoud the Affghan ; and he did homage in person, with all his nobles, to the Affghan sovereign of Persia.

The measures which Mahmoud adopted at the commencement of his reign, were politic and conciliatory. His first care was to relieve the inhabitants from famine ; his next object, to inspire his new subjects with confidence. He received into his favour all those nobles who had maintained their fidelity to the deposed monarch, while he banished or put to death those who had proved false to their duty. The European factories were confirmed in all their privileges ; and Christians of all nations were allowed the public performance of their religious rites. But this fair prospect was soon clouded. The difficulties of his situation proved too great for the virtue or courage of Mahmoud, who soon found it to be more easy to conquer than to reign. He stood amid the wreck of a mighty empire, which had fallen at his touch, “ trembling at his own success, and alarmed at the magnitude of the ruins with which he saw himself surrounded.” The measures to which he had recourse to secure himself on the throne, were cowardly and savage almost beyond a parallel. The horrors of the siege were but a prelude to the bloody tragedy which was to follow, the different acts of which were, the murder of three hundred nobles with all their male children ; the destruction of three thousand guards whom he had taken into pay ; the massacre of every Persian who had been in the service of the former government ; * the plunder of European and other

* Mahmoud's object was to reduce the number of his enemies by a system of extermination ; and after a massacre of fifteen days, a very small proportion of male adults were left in the depopulated

foreigners; and the murder of thirty-nine princes of the blood. Such atrocious and impolitic cruelties betrayed a mind distracted with apprehensions, and already under the influence of incipient insanity. By means of new levies, chiefly Kourds, Mahmoud proceeded to make himself master of some of the principal cities of Irak, in almost all of which a part of the inhabitants were massacred. Shiraz was taken by the Affghans in April 1724, after a blockade of eight months, when great numbers were slain; but the sword did not destroy so many as had already perished from famine. In the mean time, an Ottoman army, taking advantage of the defenceless state of the country, had made themselves masters of Kourdistan and great part of Adjerbijan; while the Russians, under Peter the Great, had invaded the Caspian provinces, and taken possession of Derbund and Bakou, and the greater part of Ghilan.* To add to the embarrassment of Mahmoud, mutinous clamours were excited in his own army, by the failure of an attack upon the city of Yezd. It was under these circumstances that, in the hope of propitiating the Divine favour, the dis-

capital. Such was the cowardly despondency to which misery had reduced the whole population, that it was common, we are told, to see a single Affghan leading three or four Persians to execution; and not an example occurred of the victims even struggling with their fate.—HANWAY'S *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 190.

* The conduct of the brave inhabitants of Tabriz deserves honourable mention. Though part of their city was in ruins from an earthquake, the Pasha of Van, at the head of 24,000 Turks, was astonished to find himself opposed by its inhabitants, who, barricading the streets, repeatedly repulsed the assailants with great loss. At length, the besieging army being re-inforced, they consented, after a desperate resistance, to capitulate, on condition of being permitted to retire to Ardebil. Nearly 30,000 men had fallen in the siege, and they left the conquerors a city without an inhabitant, which had been dearly purchased by the loss of more than 20,000 Turkish troops.

tracted monarch had recourse to the extraordinary expedient of undergoing a severe penance, which seems to have completed the overthrow of his reason.* During a fortnight, he remained self-immured in a dark vault, taking scarcely any sustenance; and when he emerged again into light, he was reduced to the lowest state of nervous weakness, starting at the approach of his best friends. Soon afterwards, he was seized with madness in its most outrageous form, in the paroxysms of which, according to some accounts, he not only tore off his own flesh, but devoured it. The prayers of the Armenian clergy were offered upon the head of the royal maniac; but the malady increased; and at length his mother, seeing his situation hopeless, directed that he should be smothered, to put an end to his miserable existence.

Ashraff, the cousin of Mahmoud, succeeded to the sovereignty in April 1725. He commenced his reign by cutting off some of the bravest leaders of his own tribe, whose ambition he dreaded more than the resentment of the natives; and the few Persian nobles who remained at Isfahan, shared the same fate, on the pretext that they were in correspondence with Tamasp, the son of the deposed monarch, Sultan Hussein. That prince had made his escape from Isfahan during the siege, but was unable to effect any diversion in favour of his father: he now assumed the title and state of royalty, and maintained in Mazan-

* “The usage of *Tāpassā*, or abstraction of the soul from the contemplation of all sublunary objects till it becomes absorbed in the Divinity, has spread from India over all the nations of Asia; and the Persian sooffee, the Mahomedan faquir, and the Hindoo joghee or sunnasce, vie with each other in efforts to subdue nature by rigid austerities.... This superstition is common with the Affghans.”—MALCOLM, vol. ii. p. 56.

deran a feeble struggle for the empire. He had endeavoured at different periods to negotiate with both the Russian and the Turkish courts; and at length, a treaty was concluded with the Czar, by which the Persian prince agreed to cede all the provinces bordering upon the Caspian, on being placed by the Russian armies on the throne of his ancestors. In the partition treaty which was concluded, in 1725, between the powers of Russia and Turkey,* the pretensions of Shah Tamasp were, however, so little respected, that, in case of his refusing to accede to the terms of that treaty, another prince was to be set on the throne of Persia. But all these arrangements were precluded and annulled by unexpected events. Ashraff, at the commencement of his career, discovered the most consummate ability, worthy of a better fate. He represented to the Turkish leaders, that they had engaged in an unlawful war against an orthodox Soonee monarch for the purpose of restoring a heretic dynasty; and he seconded this argument so powerfully, by defeating their armies in repeated encounters, and then by his wise moderation in sending back all the prisoners he had taken, that the Porte found itself compelled to conclude a peace with the Affghan sovereign, and to acknowledge his title to the throne of Persia, on condition of retaining their conquests. But scarcely had he begun to enjoy his good fortune, when his alarms were awakened by intelligence, that Shah Tamasp, having been joined by Nadir Kooli, a powerful chieftain of high reputation,

* The French ambassador at the Porte had the merit of negotiating this treaty between the Courts of Petersburg and Constantinople, which was ratified by both sovereigns. It gave Russia all the provinces on the Caspian to the conflux of the Kur and the Araxes.

had entered Khorāsan ; that both Mushed and Herat were reduced ; and that the fall of those cities had been followed by the submission of nearly the whole province.

Ashraff, who had hitherto beheld the exertions of this prince with indifference, now hastened to avert the impending danger by attacking the foe before he drew near the capital. The armies met near the town of Dámghân, and the Affghans sustained a complete defeat, which was followed by a precipitate flight. In a second desperate engagement, which took place six weeks after, about 40 miles N. of Isfahan, the Affghans left 4000 of their bravest men on the field of battle. The remorseless Ashraff, on abandoning a capital which he found himself unable to defend, stained his hands with the blood of the unfortunate Shah Hussein, who still survived his misfortunes. For this act of vindictive cruelty, it is difficult to assign even the pretext of policy. Shah Tamasp, who arrived in Isfahan soon after its evacuation by the Affghans, entered his capital amid the acclamations of the people ; but he is said to have burst into tears as he walked through the solitary and defaced halls of his ancestors.* Ashraff had led off his forces towards Shiraz, carrying with him all the ladies of the royal family of Persia, together with all the spoil and treasure he could collect. He was pursued by Nadir

* Hanway mentions a very touching incident. "As soon as the king entered the haram, an old woman threw her arms about his neck in transports of joy. As he knew that Ashraff had carried away his sisters and other relations, he was the more surprised to find this person to be his mother. This lady had, ever since the invasion of the Affghans, disguised herself in the habit of a slave, and submitted to all the offices of drudgery which are ordinarily imposed on persons in that situation."—HANWAY'S *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 278.

Kouli, who again defeated the dispirited Affghans near Persepolis. The chiefs had already agreed to purchase their own safety by giving up their monarch to his mercy, when Ashraff made his escape with two hundred followers. He attempted to reach his native plains by the route of Seistan, but the lawless tribes of Beloochistan intercepted his retreat in every direction. After escaping numberless dangers, he was discovered wandering in the desert with only two attendants, and fell by the ignoble hand of a Belooche, who sent his head to Shah Tamasp.

The miseries endured by the greater part of the Affghans, and by some of the principal chiefs, were only more protracted : few of them escaped death, and scarcely any returned to their native country. They either perished from want or fatigue in the desert, or were taken and sold as slaves.* For seven years, a small army of foreigners, in the midst of a great nation, had held the mass of the population in abject subjection. Within that short period, nearly a million of the inhabitants had perished, the finest provinces had been converted into deserts, and the proudest edifices were levelled with the dust. The charm was at length dissolved by the daring spirit of Nadir Kouli ; and their power, which had no foundation but in the broken spirit and pusillanimous fears of the people they oppressed, passed away like a pestilent exhalation.

The total destruction of the Affghans, however, instead of establishing Tamasp on the throne, proved

* A large division reached the coast, and proceeded to Lâhsa, on the Arabian shore, where they were all put to death by the governor. Several years after, a nephew of Ashraff and an Affghan officer who had been governor of Lar, were water-carriers in the town of Muscat.

only the prelude to the extinction of the little power he had before enjoyed. While his victorious general was employed in quelling a rebellion of the Affghans in Khorasan, the weak monarch had ventured to place himself at the head of his army, and had lost in one month to the Turks, all that the genius and valour of Nadir had gained from them in the preceding campaign. To crown these disasters, he had agreed to a disgraceful peace, by which he ceded the whole country beyond the Araxes, and five districts of the province of Kermanshah. Nadir, on receiving accounts of these proceedings, was filled with indignation; and he immediately issued a proclamation, denouncing the treaty to be contrary to the will of Heaven. He despatched an envoy to Constantinople, charged with this simple message: "Restore the provinces, or prepare for war." He then marched to Isfahan, and after upbraiding Tamasp with his conduct in making peace with Turkey, invited him, under the mask of a pretended reconciliation, to a feast, at which the unsuspecting prince was seized, and sent a prisoner to Khorasan. The son of Tamasp, an infant only eight months old, was then invested with the nominal sovereignty, under the title of Abbas III., Nadir assuming the name and power of regent of the empire.*

Nadir now commenced hostile operations against the Porte, by marching to the attack of Bagdad; but here, for the first time, he was defeated, and narrowly

* On a former occasion, Nadir had declined the title of sultan when offered him by Tamasp, but had accepted a diadem set with jewels, together with the grant of the four provinces of Khorasan, Mazanderan, Seistan, and Kerman. He had also coined money, in those provinces, in his own name, which amounted to a virtual assumption of the independent sovereignty of those parts.

escaped with life. The loss of the Persians amounted to upwards of 20,000 men, and Nadir did not re-assemble the whole of his dispersed forces till he reached the plains of Hamadan, distant more than 200 miles from the field of action. Upon no occasion did the character of this extraordinary man appear to more advantage. Instead of reproaching his soldiers, he loaded them with praises and favours, remunerated them for their losses, and rendered them, by this conduct, more than ever attached to his person. In less than three months, he descended again into the plains of Bagdad with an army more numerous than the first, overthrew the Turkish forces, and concluded a treaty with the pasha; he then crossed the Araxes, and, after a decisive action, recovered the disputed provinces. The Porte was glad to conclude a peace, which settled the boundaries of the Turkish and Persian empires as they had been prior to the Affghan invasion. On his return from this successful expedition, the opportune death of the infant monarch presented to Nadir a vacant throne. At the great festival of Nouroze, A.D. 1736, on the plains of Mogam, Nadir was requested by the assembled nobles to accept the crown, which he affected to decline. At length, he complied with their solicitations, on condition that the Sheah schism should be abolished, and that the general concord of Mohammedans should be restored by their embracing the Soonee faith. The change was, of course, assented to, although it appears to have been by no means acceptable to the nation at large, who, after the death of Nadir Shah, again espoused their favourite heresy. Nadir's object is supposed to have been, to destroy the veneration which the Persians cherished for the Suffavean dynasty; but it is probable, that he sincerely wished, as he professed, to put

an end to the unmeaning distinction which was the source of so much animosity between the two sects, and by this means at once to conciliate the Porte, and to bind more closely together his Persian and Tatar subjects.

After passing a short time in his capital, Nadir Shah * resolved to chastise the hitherto unconquered Bukhteari tribes, who infested the surrounding country ; and in the course of a month, these barbarous mountaineers were tracked and hunted from all their cliffs and glens, their chief was taken and slain, and a number of them were received into Nadir's army. His next expedition was against Candahar. While he was besieging that city, his eldest son, Rezâ Kouli, defeated the sovereign of Bulkh, and after taking that city, crossed the Oxus, and gained a signal victory over the Uzbegs. Nadir, after the fall of Candahar, made himself master of Caubul, and, crossing the Indus, rapidly advanced to Delhi, receiving the submission of almost all the governors of the provinces through which he passed. In the plain of Karnal, on the right bank of the Jumna, the feeble-minded and dissolute emperor of India, Mahomed Shah, made an attempt to arrest his progress ; but, after a battle of two hours, the Hindoos were completely defeated with a loss of

* *Nadir* signifies, both in Turkish and in Persic, wonderful, and is an epithet applied by the Moslems to the Deity, as we say the Almighty. *Kouli* signifies slave, and Nadir's original name, therefore, might be translated, Slave of the Wonderful, *i.e.*, Servant of the Most High. But Kouli was his patronymic, his father being named Imam Kouli. When promoted by Shah Tamasp, (or, as Hanway writes it, Tâhmas,) to the dignity of a Khan, Nadir took the name of that monarch, (one of the highest dignities, according to Hanway, that can be bestowed by the monarchs of Persia,) and was then called Tamasp Kooli Khan. Afterwards, on ascending the throne, he re-assumed his name Nadir, (dropping the family name Kouli,) with the addition of Shah.

20,000 slain, and more than as many prisoners. An immense treasure fell into the hands of the victor, and the emperor soon after surrendered himself to Nadir Shah, who treated him with the highest honours, and generously restored to him the crown.

Nadir entered Delhi in March 1739, and the strict discipline which his troops preserved, restored general confidence; but, on the third night, a report that Nadir was dead, emboldened the inhabitants to rise upon the Persian troops, and all that were divided into small parties, were murdered. Nadir, in attempting to quell the tumult, was fired at; and not till then, he laid aside his moderation, and ordered a general massacre. Eight thousand persons had fallen in the indiscriminate carnage, when, at the intercession of the emperor, Nadir gave orders that the massacre should cease. The gloom and consternation which this transaction spread over the dissolute capital, soon gave way to the festivities which attended the nuptials of Nadir's second son and the daughter of the emperor; and when, at the end of two months, Nadir prepared to return to his dominions, numbers of the inhabitants, we are told, regretted the departure of the Persians.* “Never was a conquest of such magnitude made by an Asiatic prince,” remarks Sir John

* The reason assigned by Nadir himself for his lenient and generous conduct towards Mahomed Shah, and recognised in the treaty of peace, was his regard for the illustrious house of Timour, of which the emperor was a lineal descendant. “We ourselves are of a Turkoman family,” says Nadir in one of his letters, “and Mahomed Shah is a Turkoman, and the lineal descendant of the noble house of Gurgan.” The tribe of Affshar, to which Nadir belonged, was one of the seven Turkish tribes distinguished by the name of *Kuzel-bashce*. The causes which led to his invasion of India were not groundless: the monarch had given protection to the fugitive Affghans, and had treated Nadir's complaints with contempt.

Malcolm, "with less crime on the part of the individual."

The march of Nadir from India was literally encumbered with spoil, which the lowest calculation makes to have been upwards of thirty millions sterling in value: a great part consisted of precious stones, of which Nadir was immoderately fond. He was hailed on his return by his subjects with enthusiasm, to which his having issued orders for remitting all taxes for three years, must not a little have contributed. Unwilling, however, to let his troops repose, Nadir, after passing the Indus, led them through the desert of Scind, to chastise a feudatory chief who had established himself in the province of Sewee or Seree. After plundering his capital, and receiving his submission, Nadir marched to Herat, where he celebrated his triumphant return by a series of public entertainments and festivities, at which he made a proud display of his immense spoils. From Herat, he moved towards Bulkh, and crossing the Oxus, had advanced by rapid marches to within twelve miles of Bokharah, when the submission of the Uzbek sovereign precipitated the wrath of the monarch he had defied; and Nadir replaced him on the throne, on condition that the Oxus should remain the boundary of the two empires. Thence, turning his arms against the ruler of Khaurizm, he invaded that country, defeated the army which encountered him, and putting to death the captive monarch, conferred his territories on a cousin of the sovereign of Bokharah. On his return to Khorasan, he passed three months at Mushed, which he had made his capital; and during that time, the city was made the scene of constant festivities. It seemed that the most glorious days of Persia were returned, under the sway of a conqueror, who, within

five years, had not only rescued the country from a foreign yoke, but had extended the limits of the empire to the Oxus, the Indus, the Caspian, and the Tigris.

Hitherto, Nadir Shah had exercised his power with comparative moderation, and had even displayed on several occasions great magnanimity. But shortly after, an event occurred, which seemed to produce a dreadful change in his disposition and character. While marching through one of the forests of Mazanderan, in an expedition against the Lesghees, a ball from a concealed assassin wounded him in the hand, and killed his horse. His suspicions fell upon his eldest son, the brave Reza Kouli, and those suspicions being inflamed by the insidious misrepresentations of designing courtiers, in a moment of rage he ordered the prince to be deprived of sight. "Your crimes have forced me to this dreadful measure," said the unhappy father. "It is not my eyes you have put out," replied Reza Kouli, "but those of Persia." The prophetic truth of this answer sank deep into the mind of Nadir, who, from that moment, a prey to self-reproach and gloomy anticipations, "never knew happiness, nor desired that others should enjoy it." Fifty noblemen who had witnessed the execution of his mandate, were put to death on the pretext that they should have offered their lives as sacrifices to save the eyes of a prince who was the glory of his country.* All his future actions were those of an

* Hanway appears satisfied that the assassin was really employed by Reza Kouli, whose character appears to have been violent, oppressive, and daring. During Nadir's absence in India, a report prevailed that he was slain; on which, Reza Kouli, assuming regal authority, put to death the unhappy Tamasp, with all his family, who were prisoners at Sebsawar.—HANWAY'S *Trav.*, vol. ii. pp.

avaricious and gloomy despot ; and when these had the natural effect of exciting insurrection in all quarters, which was artfully fomented by the Sheah priests, the violence of Nadir rose to outrageous fury. The inhabitants of whole cities were massacred by his orders ; and in the language of a native historian, “ men left their abodes, and took up their habitations in caverns and deserts, in the hope of escaping his savage ferocity.” We are told, that while on his march to subdue one of his nephews who had rebelled in Seistan, he proposed to put to death every Persian in his army. His mind was evidently in a state of frenzy which amounted to insanity. Some of his principal officers, having learned that their names were in the list of proscribed victims, resolved to save themselves by assassinating the tyrant ; and among those to whom the execution of the plot was entrusted were, Mahomed Ali Khan, a chief of his own tribe of Affshar, and Salah Beg, the captain of his guards. Nadir had slain two of the meaner assassins in the scuffle, when a blow from Salah Beg deprived him of life, A.D. 1747, at the age of sixty-one, and in the twelfth year of his reign.

“ The character of this wonderful man,” remarks Sir John Malcolm, “ is, perhaps, exhibited in its truest colours in those impressions which the memory of his actions have left upon the minds of his countrymen. They speak of him as a deliverer and a destroyer ; but, while they expatiate with pride upon his deeds of glory, they dwell with more pity than horror upon the cruel enormities which disgraced the latter years of his reign ; and neither his crimes, nor

397—9. Sir John Malcolm, however, assigns strong reasons for concurring in the testimonies borne to the innocence of Reza Kouli, as regards the attempt on Nadir's life.

the attempt he made to abolish their religion, have subdued their gratitude and veneration for the hero, who revived in the breasts of his degraded countrymen a sense of their former fame, and restored Persia to her independence as a nation."

"In the beginning of his reign," Hanway remarks, "Nadir dispensed justice with an equal hand, and affected the name of a just king." Never was a usurpation more completely justified by the exigencies of the country, and by the patriotic services of the individual whom the unanimous voice of the nation recognised as their deliverer. Few among Asiatic sovereigns (with whom alone it is fair to compare him) ever reigned by a more valid title, or ruled at first with greater moderation. Brave, temperate, indefatigable, magnanimous, he united in his character all the elements of greatness; and his crimes must be in part attributed to the turbulent and perfidious character of the nation he had to govern.* "Had the people been less vicious," remarks Hanway, "the vices of the usurper could not have been so destructive." On the subject of religion, Nadir is supposed to have had no fixed sentiments. His penetration led him to despise the superstition and fanaticism of the Persians; † and he

* An arrow was once shot into his quarters, with a label affixed, on which was written, "If thou art a king, cherish and protect thy people; if a prophet, shew us the path of salvation; if a god, be merciful to thy creatures." Copies of this paper were distributed throughout the camp, with the following answer annexed: "I am neither a king, to protect my subjects, a prophet, to teach the way of salvation, nor a god, to exercise the attribute of mercy; but I am he whom the Almighty has sent in his wrath, to chastise a world of sinners." Hanway gives the answer with a trifling variation. (Vol. ii. p. 442.)

† Nadir took frequent occasion to mention with contempt the feats of Aly, arraigning his conduct as a commander. "And why," he would say to the Persians, "instead of praying to Aly, do you not call on God?"—HANWAY, vol. ii. p. 403.

charged the priests, not without reason, with having absorbed the revenues and caused the decline of the empire. He is said to have been a predestinarian. Before a battle, it was his constant custom to prostrate himself for the space of a minute, and offer an ejaculatory prayer; this being, we are told, the chief, if not the sole act of religion, of which he gave any demonstration.* He was not altogether destitute, however, of a liberal curiosity on the subject. Soon after his return from India, he directed a translation of the four Evangelists to be made into Persic. Unhappily, it was entrusted to incompetent hands;† and when extracts from this imperfect version were read to him, he is said to have amused himself and his hearers with ludicrous remarks on the supposed discrepancies in the several accounts given by the evangelists, and on the mysteries of the Christian faith. The tenets of the Jews and the traditions of the Mohammedans were treated with the same freedom; and Nadir broke up the motley assembly of priests, rabbies, and moollahs, by observing, that he must remain under the same difficulty that he was in before, but that, if it pleased God to spare his health,

* Hanway, vol. ii. p. 446.

† The affair was put under the direction of his secretary, Meerza Mehdy, (the author of the life of Nadir Shah, translated by Sir W. Jones, and chiefly followed by Sir John Malcolm,) who confided the translation to some Armenian and Romish ecclesiastics. Only one Romish priest, born in Persia, was sufficiently a master of the language to enter upon a task of so critical a nature; and few of the Armenians, though natives, understood the Persic fundamentally. Father Des Vignes, a French missionary, was also employed in this work, in which he made use of the Vulgate. The translation, which was finished and copied in six months, was "dressed up with all the glosses which the fables and perplexities of the Khoran could warrant: their chief guide was an ancient Arabic and Persian translation."—HANWAY, vol. ii. p. 404.

he would make a religion much better than any which mankind yet possessed. He then dismissed the translators with some trifling presents. Whatever levity and precipitation he discovered on this occasion, he took the right method to judge for himself of the Christian religion by consulting its sacred writings ; and one must regret that his orders were not executed under happier auspices.

The chiefs who had murdered Nadir, agreed to place his nephew Aly upon the throne. His first act was to circulate a proclamation, taking to himself the credit of having authorized the assassination of the tyrant, with a view to restore tranquillity to the nation, and remitting the revenues of the current year, as well as all extraordinary taxes for the following two years, in consideration of the dreadful extortions of his predecessor. His next act was to put to death the unfortunate Reza Kouli and thirteen of the sons and grandsons of Nadir ; Shah Rokh, then fourteen years of age, being the only one of his house that was spared. Aly assumed the title of Adil Shah, " the just king ;" and he endeavoured to secure popularity by dispensing, with a prodigal hand, the wealth amassed by his uncle. But his reign was short and inglorious. He was defeated, taken, and deprived of sight by his brother Ibrahim Khan, to whom he had intrusted the government of Irak. His reign was still shorter : he was deposed and murdered by his own troops ; and Adil Shah was also put to death. Shah Rokh was then placed on the throne ; but, in the short space of two years, he was deposed and deprived of sight, again restored by his victorious general, a second time deposed and imprisoned, and finally reinstated by the new king of the Affghans, as prince

of Khorasan. In the mean time, almost every provincial governor declared himself independent; * and during ten years, several little monarchies rose and fell in succession, till Kurreem Khan Zund was at length left without a competition for empire.

This excellent prince, "though born in an inferior rank, obtained power without crime, and exercised it with a moderation as singular as his humanity and justice." He was originally a chief of the small tribe of Zund, which claimed a high rank among the native tribes of the country, and had joined the standard of a Bukhteari chieftain, named Ali Murdan Khan, who, occupying Isfahan, placed on the throne a pageant, under the title of Shah Ismail, a nephew of Sultan Hussein. The assassination of that chief, together with the defeat of the ruler of Adjerbijan, and of his still more powerful rival, Mahomed Hussein Khan, who had possessed himself of Mazanderan, rendered Kurreem Khan the undisputed master of the whole of western Persia. Although he deemed it prudent to confine the pageant to whom Ali Murdan Khan had given the name of king, he styled himself only *Vakeel*, or lieutenant of the kingdom. Having firmly established his authority, he continued to display the same moderation in the exercise of his power that he had shewn in the attainment of it. During the latter years of his reign, the country enjoyed general peace and security. Under his auspices, agriculture and commerce had revived, and though himself illiterate, his court was the resort of learned men, to whom he

* Asterabad and Mazanderan were in the possession of Mohamed Hussein Khan Kujur, grandfather to the present sovereign of Persia; Adjerbijan was under the rule of an Affghan; and Ghilan had declared its independence.

was a liberal patron.* The Armenians were greatly favoured by this enlightened ruler, and enjoyed as much consideration as he was able to give them. Shiraz, which he made his capital, and which he greatly improved and ornamented, more especially flourished in his reign. Kurreem Khan died at an advanced age (nearly eighty), A.D. 1779, after having ruled Persia for twenty-six years, regretted by all his subjects.

“The character of this prince,” says Sir John Malcolm, “has few of the common features of a despotic monarch. He had ambition; but it was free from the turbulence which almost always mixes with that passion. He preserved, equally amid scenes of violence and of repose, an undisturbed temper; and was, through life, distinguished by a manly simplicity of mind which kept him as remote from the pomps and vanities of his high rank, as from that affectation which endeavours to conceal its pride under the garb of humility. This prince, though humane, sometimes punished severely; and he employed others of a disposition very different from his own,† to spread terror among his enemies and rebellious subjects; but his clemency was hardly ever refused to a fallen or repentant foe.‡.....He was possessed of

* He built or repaired the tombs of Sadi and Hafiz, and endowed them with lands.

† In particular, his brother Zuckee Khan, the terror inspired by whose cruelties was certainly instrumental in preserving the general tranquillity.

‡ Azâd Khan, the governor of Adjerbijan, and Futteh Ali Khan, who had also fought against Kurreem, threw themselves on his clemency, after their defeat, and were both pardoned. The former was promoted to a high rank, and became a warm and attached friend of his former rival. Zuckee Khan, also, at one time openly rebelled, and was compelled to throw himself on the clemency of his brother, who restored him to employment.

that noble courage which dares to pardon; and the generous confidence with which he treated those whom he forgave, appears to have almost always attached them to his person. The virtues of this prince had nothing of a romantic character: they were, like all his other qualities, plain and intrinsic. He was reputed pious, and was exact in the performance of his religious duties; but his religion was not austere. His natural disposition was, indeed, gay and cheerful; and he continued to the last to enjoy the pleasures of this world, and anxiously desired that others should do the same. His love of pleasure never, however, degenerated into intemperance, nor was he ever unfitted by indulgence for the active performance of his duties as a sovereign..... Though his rule was always firm, and at times harsh, his general manner to the meanest of his subjects, was familiar and kind. He lived happily, and his death was that of a father, amid a family whom he had cherished, and by whom he was beloved. The inhabitants of Persia to this day venerate his name; and those who have risen to greatness on the destruction of the dynasty which he founded, do not withhold their tribute of applause to his goodness. These, indeed, when meaning to detract from his fame, often give him the highest possible eulogy. ‘Kurreem Khan,’ they say, ‘was not a great king; his court was not splendid, and he made few conquests; but it must be confessed, that he was a wonderful magistrate.’”*

In Persia, the character of the reigning monarch is every thing,—the foundation of law, the bond of security. The successors of Kurreem Khan forfeited, by

* Malcolm, vol. ii. p. 143—152.

their crimes, the power which he had obtained by his virtues. The four sons who survived him, became in turn the tools and victims of the rival chiefs who contended with each other for a crown which was their inheritance. The moment Kurreem Khan died, the reins of government were seized by his ferocious brother, Zuckee Khan, who, to cover his usurpation, declared the second and third sons of the deceased monarch, his joint successors ; but his cruelties raised the indignation even of his own body-guard, by whom he was assassinated at Yezdikhaust. Aboul Futteh Khan, the second son of Kurreem,* was then proclaimed king, and he entered Shiraz amid the acclamations of the people ; but jealous, weak, and dissolute, he proved incapable of maintaining his authority, and another uncle, Sadûk Khan, deprived him of his throne and his eyes. Sadûk Khan was, in his turn, dispossessed and put to death, by his nephew and step-son, Aly Moorad Khan, who, after a brief and troubled reign of four years, sank under the aggravation of a severe illness, occasioned by fatigue, while on his march to subdue the revolt of Jaaffer Khan, the son of Sadûk. That prince immediately ascended the throne, which he filled for nearly three years, when he was poisoned at the instigation of two of his nobles whom he had imprisoned. He was succeeded by his son, Lootf Ali Khan. This brave young prince was indebted for his elevation to Hajee Ibrahim, the first magistrate of Fars ; a man of singular wisdom and integrity, and highly venerated. No event could

* The eldest son was never raised even to nominal power ; he was deprived of his sight by his cousin, Akbar Khan, and his third brother shared the same fate. The second son was also blinded on being deposed ; the fourth had the good fortune to die before his father ; and a fifth was mutilated by Akbar Khan.

appear more propitious to the country, or more likely to restore the fallen fortunes of the Zund family. Lootf Ali, whose appearance was singularly adapted to command admiration, already ranked, though not twenty years of age, among the bravest cavaliers in the country. But proud and violent, faithless and unrelenting, the slave of his passions, he soon grew jealous of the minister who had placed the crown upon his head ; and the mutual distrust which ensued, rendered the fall of one party inevitable. Among the competitors for empire who had started on the death of Kurreem Khan, was Aga Mahomed Khan, of the tribe of Kujur, the son of Mahomed Hussein Khan, who had disputed the empire with Kurreem Khan himself. This able chief, having escaped from Shiraz, raised his standard in his native province of Mazanderan, and was now master of Tehran and Isfahan. He had already commenced a contest with Lootf Aly Khan, which threatened to inflict upon the country the misery of a protracted struggle ; and when Hajee Ibrahim lost his confidence in the prince he had raised to the throne, and felt his own safety to be at stake, he determined upon a step which should place Persia again under one master.*

When Lootf Aly Khan had advanced some marches on his way to Isfahan, Hajee Ibrahim, by the aid of a small corps of citizens, seized the two noblemen who had been left in charge of the garrison and citadel of Shiraz, and made himself without bloodshed master of the city. On receiving information of what was pass-

* "None," said this extraordinary man to Sir John Malcolm many years after, "except some plundering soldiers, cared whether a Zund or a Kujur was upon the throne ; but all desired that Persia should be great and powerful, and enjoy internal tranquillity."

ing, Lootf Aly hastily returned with a few followers, (for the greater part of the army shewed signs of insubordination,) and encamped under the walls. The families of those soldiers had been placed by the prince's jealous policy in the capital; and now when Hajee Ibrahim called upon them to return to their homes as they valued the safety of those they loved, the appeal had full effect, and their deserted leader was compelled to flee. He succeeded, however, in raising some fresh troops, and in the following year, he once more appeared before Shiraz, and commenced a blockade of the city. The unsubdued spirit and daring valour which he displayed, raised the hopes of his friends, and gained him many followers. It is probable, indeed, that he would have recovered his capital, had he not had to contend with a man of Hajee Ibrahim's firm and sagacious character, who anticipated the danger, and took timely measures to avert it. After the revolt of the army had led to the desertion of their leader, the troops had returned in a very disorderly manner to Shiraz, and their arrival had increased the number of men of the military tribes of Fars within the walls to about 12,000. The infantry or city militia, composed of shopkeepers and artificers, did not amount to a fifth part of that number; and on them only could Hajee Ibrahim rely for support in transferring the sovereignty into the hands of a Kujur. In this emergency, Hajee Ibrahim resolved upon the extraordinary expedient of disarming and expelling from Shiraz this multitude of soldiers; and he took his measures with a precaution and promptitude which eluded all suspicion.

“ Having given orders to secure the streets which communicated by a back road from the place of his residence to the gateway of the city, he sent notice to

the military tribes to be ready at an appointed time to receive a donation which he meant to give them. They assembled as directed, and one hundred were admitted at a time into the interior court of his mansion. From the height of the walls which surrounded it, those who were without, could know nothing of what was passing within. The first party admitted found themselves surrounded, but were told, no injury was intended to them if they resigned their arms ; which they did ; and while these were given to citizens, to increase the corps upon whom Hajee Ibrahim could depend, the unarmed soldiers were conducted by the back road beyond the gates of the town. The whole were disarmed, and party after party joined their astonished companions under the walls. The measure was carried into execution without confusion and without bloodshed. When the whole body were expelled, they were directed to proceed to some villages in the vicinity. Being deprived of the power of resistance, they were forced to obey. Some of them joined Lootf Aly Khan, and others remained at their places of destination, watching the progress of events."

The sequel was attended by circumstances not less romantic in their character. Two detachments successively sent by Aga Mahomed to the support of Hajee Ibrahim, were attacked and defeated by the brave Lootf Aly Khan, and his enemy was under the necessity of advancing in person with an overwhelming force, exceeding that of the prince in the proportion of nearly a hundred to one. Yet, still undismayed, Lootf Aly Khan determined to make one desperate struggle for the crown. He surprised and defeated the advanced guard, and pursuing the fugitives to the camp, attacked, with a band of a few hundred men,

an army of more than thirty thousand. Favoured by the darkness of the night and the terror which his name inspired, he had dispersed almost the whole of the enemy, and was about to enter the tent of the Kujur chief, when he was stopped by receiving the assurance from one of his followers, that Aga Mahomed was among the fugitives. Deceived by this report, he directed his men to halt, and not to enter the royal pavilion, the treasures of which he wished to reserve to himself; and they dispersed to plunder in other directions. But, when morning dawned, he heard with dismay the public crier calling to prayers, which announced to all that remained of Aga Mahomed's army, that their sovereign was still at his post. He had never left it, but, with singular fortitude, had remained at his quarters, surrounded by some of his guards, expecting, from the small number of the assailants, the probable issue; and he had given orders to the crier to announce morning prayers in the usual manner, to give both his own army and the enemy to know that he was undisturbed by all that had passed. Lootf Aly Khan, awakened from his dream of victory, found himself compelled to flee with the utmost speed, to save himself from being made prisoner.

From this time, Aga Mahomed may be regarded as the actual sovereign of Persia.* Lootf Aly Khan, whose mind was still unsubdued, made good his escape, first to Kerman, and thence to Khorasan. After a variety of fortune, he obtained a sufficient number of adherents to take by assault the city of Kerman, where he once more assumed the style of a sovereign; but this was the last of his glorious

* That is, of Irak, Fars, Kerman, Asterabad, Mazanderan, and Ghilan.

achievements. Aga Mahomed hastened with all the forces he could collect, to crush a foe who seemed to rise with renewed energy from every fall; and he invested the city. The siege had lasted four months, when treachery opened the gates of the citadel to the enemy. Lootf Aly Khan, though beset on all sides, maintained the contest in the town during three hours, till, favoured by night, he crossed the ditch by a bridge of planks, and succeeded, with three attendants, in breaking through the enemy's lines, and making his escape. When, at day-break, Aga Mahomed found that "the lion had burst his toils," his rage knew no bounds, and he wreaked his vengeance upon the innocent inhabitants. The mind sickens at the recital of such horrors. Every male adult was either slain or deprived of sight; and the executioners grew weary with the work of blood, before the execrable cruelty of their monarch was satiated. Nearly 20,000 women and children were granted as slaves to his soldiers.* Lootf Aly Khan was shortly afterwards betrayed into the hands of his merciless enemy, who, after treating him with the most brutal indignities, tore out his eyes, and sent him a prisoner to Tehraun, where he was afterwards put to death. Such was the fate of the last prince of the Zund dynasty, whose valour and heroism might entitle him to rank with the Roostum of Persian romance; and almost every person of the tribe, who could be suspected of forming the most remote pretensions to the throne, was either put to death or deprived of sight by the cruel caution of their implacable enemy. Nor could this satisfy his barbarous revenge, which sought to vent itself on the

* The number of those who were deprived of their eyes, is said to have been 70,000, and this was exceeded by the number of those massacred.

ashes of the dead. He ordered the bones of the virtuous Kurreem Khan to be dug up, and removed to Tehraun, where, together with those of Nadir Shah, they were deposited at the entrance of the palace, that he might enjoy the gratification of every day trampling upon the graves of the two principal foes of his family. In this instance, the policy which usually regulated the actions of Aga Mahomed Khan, and which enabled him either to dissemble or, in some cases, to renounce his resentments, gave way to a callous malignity of mind alike unmanly and disgusting.

One almost resents the attempt to do justice to the talents and better qualities of such a man: yet, to his strong and merciless rule, combined with wise and steady policy, his rigid administration of justice, and his penetrating judgement, Persia was indebted for the restoration of internal tranquillity, and the revival of agriculture and commerce. The leading events of his reign, were, his subjugation of Georgia * and Khorasan. The sack of Teflis, the capital of Georgia, in 1795, was attended by every brutal excess of cruelty that national hatred, inflamed by bigotry and infernal policy, could dictate. Youth and beauty were alone spared in the general massacre, to become the slaves of the conquerors. The churches were levelled with the ground, and every priest that could be found, was put to death; fifteen thousand captives, besides ten thousand from other towns and districts, were led into bondage; and the Persian army marched back laden with spoil.

* Georgia was at this time under the government of the aged prince Heraclius, who, taking advantage of the distracted state of Persia after the death of Kurreem Khan, had, by a formal act, renounced his dependence upon Persia, and placed himself under the protection of the Russian Empress.

In the following year, Aga Mahomed marched to Mushed, receiving the submission of all the petty chiefs in his route. His professed object was to pay his devotions at the tomb of the holy Imaum Reza, and to punish those who had sacrilegiously plundered it of its wealth. His real motives were, to establish his power over Khorasan, to check the inroads of the Turkomans, and to possess himself of the wealth which still appertained to the descendants of Nadir. As the Persian army drew near the city, the unfortunate Shah Rokh went forth to meet its leader, who, after receiving the submission of the sightless monarch, walked on foot, attended by all his nobles, to the Imaum's tomb. This farce performed, he demanded of Shah Rokh the precious stones which he was known to possess, but which he had concealed from even his sons. In vain the unhappy old monarch persisted in denying with the most solemn oaths, that he possessed them. Torture in all its forms was applied, and discoveries, it is said, kept pace with the pains inflicted upon him. But not till he was nearly expiring under his agonies,* would he reveal the ruby which had decorated the crown of Aurungzebe, and which was the chief object of the search. Aga Mahomed then directed that the torture should cease, accusing the prince of being himself the author of the miseries he had suffered. He was then ordered to be conveyed with his whole family to Mazanderan; but the unhappy grandson of Nadir died a few days after leaving Mushed, in consequence of the tortures inflicted upon him, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

Aga Mahomed was preparing to invade the territo-

* A circle of paste was put upon his head, and boiling lead was poured into it.

ries" of the ruler of Bokharah, the famous Beggee Jaun, when he was recalled by the intelligence that the Russians had crossed the Araxes, and were threatening Adjerbijan. The death of the Empress Catherine in November 1796, relieved Persia from the impending danger; but, notwithstanding the recal of the invading army by her successor, Aga Mahomed, early in the ensuing spring, determined again to visit Georgia. He had advanced as far as Sheshâh, when his career was arrested by the hand of violence. Two menial attendants, whom he had sentenced to death for a trivial offence, entered his tent while he was asleep, and with their poniards put an end to the existence of one of the ablest and most cruel tyrants that ever ruled in Persia.*

"This prince," remarks Sir John Malcolm, "had suffered, in the early part of his life, the most cruel adversity,† and his future conduct seems to have

* It is said, that his powers of mind had begun to fail him, and reports were spread that he was deranged. He was subject to epileptic fits, and these had probably weakened his intellect.

† When between five and six years of age, he was seized by order of Adil Shah, and emasculated. In consequence of this barbarous treatment, the young prince became distinguished by the title of aga (master), which is given to the principal chamberlain of the haram. His person was so slender, that at a distance he appeared like a youth of fifteen; and his beardless and shrivelled face resembled that of an aged and wrinkled woman, assuming, when clouded by displeasure, a horrible expression. Of this he was himself conscious, and could not bear to be gazed at. His callous, insensible temperament, his early intelligence and application, and his calculating and vindictive character, are not to be wondered at. Kurreem Khan used to call him Peeran-wisa, for his sagacity. His iron frame was capable of enduring any fatigue, and he had a great contempt for all luxury. Being extremely fond of hunting, he almost lived on horseback; and after a march, or when fatigued with the chase, he would seat himself on the ground, and share with his principal officers the plainest repast. One day, he was eating some of the hard black bread and sour milk which form the

taken its strongest bias from the keen recollection of his misery and his wrongs. The first passion of his mind was the love of power; the second, avarice; and the third, revenge. In all these he indulged to excess, and they administered to each other; but the latter two, strong as they were, gave way to the first, whenever they came in collision. His knowledge of the character and feelings of others was wonderful; and it is to this knowledge, and his talent of concealing from them all the secret purposes of his soul, that we must refer his extraordinary success in subduing his enemies. Against these, he never employed force till art had failed; and even in war, his policy effected more than his sword. His ablest and most confidential minister, when asked if Aga Mahomed Khan was personally brave, replied: ‘No doubt, but still I can hardly recollect an occasion where he had an opportunity of displaying courage. That monarch’s head never left work for his hand.’ The first great effort of his life was to acquire power; the second was to render it permanent in his family.....This monarch, we are told, had fully persuaded himself that the means which he took to preserve the throne, were not directed to a selfish object; and he used often to exclaim, when speaking of his successor, the present monarch of Persia, ‘I have shed all this blood, that the boy, Bâbâ Khan, may reign in peace.’” To his two nephews, Futteh Ali Khan, (whom he always called by the endearing name of Bâbâ, child,) and

common fare of the Persian soldier, when one of his principal ministers, seated near him, began to follow the royal example. The monarch instantly commanded him to desist. “Eat as much as you like of your rich pillaus and sweetmeats; but never,” said he, “let me again see a fellow of a secretary (*meerza*) like you, touch the food of my soldiers.”—MALCOLM, vol. ii. p. 311.

Hussein Kouli Khan, he always acted as a kind parent ; and it was avowedly for the sake of the young prince whom he had destined for his successor, that he treacherously murdered his own half brother, the brave Jaaffer Kouli, to whom he had been chiefly indebted for his own elevation.

After the first confusion produced by the assassination of Aga Mahomed Khan had subsided, Futteh Ali Khan was proclaimed king by Hajee Ibrahim, who had till the last enjoyed, as prime minister, the confidence of the deceased monarch. A feeble effort to oppose his succession was subdued without an action, and the internal tranquillity of the empire has never since been disturbed. Owing to the comparative mildness and justice of his rule, the inhabitants of Persia have, under the reigning monarch, enjoyed a state of quiet and prosperity which in this devoted country had long been unknown. With respect to the north-western frontier, Futteh Ali Shah has not been so successful in maintaining his pretensions. Georgia has become a province of Russia, and the garrisons of that nation now extend to the banks of the Araxes, and along the southern shores of the Caspian. In Khorasan, the greater part of the chiefs yield a nominal obedience and an occasional tribute. Herat is in possession of the King of Caubul, but the Persian monarch receives an annual subsidy from Mahmoud Shah, as the condition of his quiet possession. The character of the reigning monarch and of the existing government, is thus summed up by an enterprising Traveller, to whose researches in Persia modern geography is under peculiar obligations.

“ Futteh Allee Shah succeeded his uncle, Aga Mahomed Khan, on the throne of Persia, in the year 1798. He was then about forty years of age. The

preceding twenty had been passed under the shadow and protection of his powerful uncle ; and his earlier youth, through the mildness and tolerance of Kurreem Khan, was passed in tolerable ease.* His character, therefore, has not been formed in the school of adversity ; and it was not naturally of a very marked description. For one brought up with the exercise of uncontrolled power, his dispositions are by no means bad : for a Persian monarch, he is considered as neither cruel nor disposed to injustice. He is sincere in his religious professions, a good father, temperate in his habits, seldom tasting wine and spirits ; † and his life is unstained with the more disgusting debaucheries that disgrace too many of his subjects. He has no title to courage ; on the contrary, he is reported to have behaved in a very questionable manner on the few occasions where he was required to face danger ; neither can he lay claim to generosity. In fact, he is a man possessed of very little talent and no strength of mind ; sufficiently calculated to live as a respectable private character, but quite unfit to be the king of such a country ; and he could neither have succeeded to the throne nor kept his seat there, had not his powerful and crafty uncle worked for him, removing, by force or guile, every individual likely to give him

* “ It is related of Kurreem Khan, that when, after his successful struggle for the throne, hostages from the families of his opponents were brought him from all quarters, and among others, from the Kadjer (Kujur) tribe ; Baba Khan, the present King of Persia, then quite a child, being one, the king looked at him once or twice with great interest, and at length exclaimed : ‘ Why have you brought that boy ? I have no business with him ; his head is made for a crown. Send him home to his mother.’ He presented him with a khelaut, horses, and attendants, and dismissed him to Mazanderan with honour.”

† The king indulges moderately in English beer by recommendation of his physicians.

trouble, and had not the surrounding countries been so circumstanced that no danger could reach him from abroad. The ruling passion and besetting sin of Futeh Allee Shah, which has proved more injurious to his country and his power than all the efforts of his enemies, is avarice, an insatiable desire of accumulating wealth....The king will stoop, for gain, to the meanest and most ludicrous shifts, or perpetrate the greatest crimes; and as all about him well know the monarch's passion, they, in their turn, use every means for accumulation, that they may be prepared to purchase favour or avert persecution by adequate presents. The king not only desires to possess treasures himself, but aims at being the sole depositary of the kingdom's wealth. He knows that the surest way to repress the turbulent dispositions of the Persian nobles, is, to keep them poor; and, in truth, he acts pretty well up to this rule; for, as he possesses the best information of the pecuniary situation of most of his subjects, so, when he learns of any considerable hoard, he takes care to cause it to change masters, in the shape of present, fine, or quit-money....In his thirst for money, his majesty has had recourse to expedients hitherto unknown to any monarch in Persia. He has disposed not only of his daughters, but of his wives, to individuals of the nobility, but of unusually inferior rank, for large considerations in money, and not always with the consent of either party.*....The presents he makes, and the *khilauts* he bestows, are contemptible. If he orders a shawl to be presented, it is generally old,

* This writer affirms, but without citing his authority, that the king himself confesses his desire for accumulating to be now unappeasable; and that one of his great delights is, to have large trays of golden coin set before him, that he may contemplate and count over his riches.

coarse, and shabby ; if a dress, it is found to consist of the poorest trash, superficially covered with a flimsy coat of gold and silver of no intrinsic value.* When he can prevail on himself to part with money, he does it in sums inadequate to the most reasonable expectation. This penurious meanness has greatly tended to alienate the affections of his servants, sufficiently mercenary themselves, and to destroy every spark of zeal for his service.

“ The king’s personal character exactly describes that of his government : the policy he observes is narrow, short-sighted, and contemptible. He views Persia, not as his country, which he should love, protect, and improve, but as a property of which he has a lease, uncertain in its duration, and of which it behoves him to make the most he can while in his power. The throne having come into the hands of his family by conquest, he treats the whole country (except, perhaps, the seat of his own tribe in Mazunderan) like a conquered nation ; and his only concern is, how to extort from them the greatest possible amount of money. So long as he thinks he succeeds in this, he cares little about laws, regulations, police, &c. He leaves these, for the most part, to the governors he appoints ; and it is not until the revenue fails, or till the cry of distress becomes too great to be suppressed, that the state of a province is ever inquired into. The great object being to gather in as much, and expend as little as possible, the principle is carried to a length

* When the British envoy, Colonel Macdonald Kinnier, was introduced to his Persian majesty, in 1824, the king made *no* return for the magnificent present which he received, although he was otherwise very gracious. Such conduct in a Persian monarch is unprecedented.

which often defeats itself. There are many ways in which a small sum of money, judiciously applied, might produce a large additional revenue; but this would imply a far greater spirit of speculation and forecast than exists in Persia. Should a mine be discovered, or a canal be required to fertilize a district, the king will do nothing: individuals must run the risk, or the matter must lie dormant. And thus, many rich veins of metals are left unworked, many tracts that might be cultivated, remain waste, because no individual dares do what the king will not undertake or encourage. There are no roads nor bridges made by government; no public establishments, caravanserais, nor medressas built. Should the king desire to render his name popular or well regarded on any particular occasion, he *gives orders* that a certain sum shall be sent to such a mosque, or shrine; or he *directs* such a caravanserai, or medressa, to be repaired; but the expense seldom lights ultimately on himself. Repairs, in particular, are, for the most part, effected by the joint labour of the district, for which the labourers seldom receive much pay. Upon the same principle, all the old palaces and royal gardens, in various parts of the kingdom, are suffered to fall into decay, for want of an allowance for their maintenance and repairs. Nothing of this sort is allowed, except in those instances where his majesty makes an occasional visit; and even then, nothing beyond a superficial patching is ever performed. The only species of speculation involving outlay, which still continues to be practised in Persia, is that of commercial adventure, in which the nobles of the country not unfrequently engage, and the king himself, it is said, trades largely. But it is a mistake to suppose that merchants are entirely

exempt from the arbitrary exactions to which all others are exposed.”*

This melancholy view of the present state of the country will be amply substantiated by our topographical details. The personal character of the reigning monarch is placed, however, in a somewhat more pleasing light by other travellers. “Except where money is concerned,” says an officer attached to the suite of the British envoy, “his majesty is the most sensible man in his dominions. He is beloved by his subjects; his rule is mild, and he seldom punishes with severity, except unpardonable offenders.”† “The king,” says an elegant and accomplished “Traveller in the East,” “has elegant manners and many accomplishments. Among others, he is a poet, and has written a book of odes, of the merits of which the critics of Persia speak in perfect raptures....He pursues with great ardour the sports of the field, is an excellent horseman, and a good shot. Being fond of his fame as a literary man, he devotes some time to the society of the learned, and enjoys hearing poetry and entertaining stories recited. He has, however, I am told, more boyish amusements, in which those of his favourite attendants and domestics who join, are admitted to great familiarity.....Notwithstanding the habits of his condition and the severe and cruel acts to which that has often led him, there is naturally a kind disposition in the present king of Persia, which has made me always regard him as deserving of estimation.”‡

* Fraser's *Khorasan*, pp. 192—200.

† Alexander's *Travels from India to England*, p. 208.

‡ This sketch was taken in the year 1800, when his majesty had the appearance of being little more than thirty. In his conversation with the British Envoy, Sir John Malcolm, as detailed by this

The darkest stain upon this monarch's character, (for the murder of his uncle, Saduk Khan, admits of the palliation of state necessity,) is his cruel and ungrateful conduct to his aged vizier, Hajee Ibrahim, who placed the crown upon the heads of both himself and his predecessor. The death of the king's mother (in 1802), who knew his value and protected him, was the signal to his enemies, who fabricated every accusation that could work upon either the pride or the fears of the king, to make him destroy one whom they at once dreaded and hated. The aged minister was aware of their machinations, but disdained to take any measures for his own security.* He was

Writer, he certainly displayed a superior degree of intelligence, and conversed familiarly on various subjects. He made particular inquiry into the frame of the English government; and, on being told that, in England, no man is so high as to be able to do any thing contrary to the law of the land, and no man so low, but that he might do every thing not contrary to that law,—the Shah observed, after a pause: “Your king is, I see, only the first magistrate of the country. Such a condition of power has permanence, but it has no enjoyment: mine is enjoyment. There you see Suliman Khan Kajir, and several other of the first chiefs of the kingdom—I can cut all their heads off; can I not?” said he, addressing them. “Assuredly, Point of adoration of the world (*Kibla-e-Alem*), if it is your pleasure.” “That is real power,” said the King; “but then it has no permanence. When I am gone, my sons will fight for the crown, and all will be confusion. There is, however, one consolation; Persia will be governed by a soldier.”—*Sketches of Persia*, vol. ii. pp. 137, 8, &c. “The lady of Dr. McNeil, the physician to the Mission (in 1824), was one day in the zenanah, when she observed one of the princes, a boy of ten years of age, with a handkerchief tied over his eyes, groping about the apartment. Upon inquiring what he was doing, he said, that, as he knew when the Shah, his father, died, he should have his eyes put out, he was now trying how he could do without them.”—ALEXANDER'S *Travels*, p. 210. Mr. Fraser relates a similar story.—FRASER'S *Khorasan*, p. 204.

* In the farewell interview which Sir John Malcolm had with Hajee Ibrahim, on leaving Tehraun in 1800, the minister com-

degraded and condemned to lose his eyes ; and when he exclaimed, with Persian freedom of speech, against the injustice and ingratitude of the monarch, Futteh Ali Shah ordered his tongue to be cut out. He did not long survive ; and, according to the barbarous usage of the country, his sons and brothers were included in the proscription. Though residing in different parts of the kingdom, they were all seized on the same day and hour ; some were put to death, others lost their eyes, and all their property was confiscated. Thirst for their supposed wealth is, indeed, believed to have been as powerful a motive with the king, as jealousy of his minister's power, in inducing him to listen to the false accusations brought by his enemies ; and touched with remorse, he has been known to reproach his ministers with the loss the country had sustained through their intrigues, exclaiming, on occasions of emergency, " Where is Hajee Ibrahim ?"

In reference to a country subject to such perpetual

communicated his anticipation of being soon put to death. " The king and his ministers," said he, " are all anxious to destroy me. Your arrival has delayed for a short time the execution of their designs, but it is only for a short time. I could easily save myself, but Persia would again be plunged in warfare. My object has been to give my country one king ; I cared not whether he was a Zend or a Kajir, so that there was an end of internal distraction. I have seen enough of these scenes of blood ; I will be concerned in no more of them. I hope I have made my peace with God, and shall therefore die contented." Sir John, who had succeeded in effecting an outward reconciliation between Hajee Ibrahim and the other ministers, besought his friend to treat these personages with more consideration, and to bear with more patience than he manifested, the occasional fits of ill-humour and violence in the king. " I cannot alter my nature," was his reply ; " it is plain and downright. Besides, the conduct you recommend would be of no use ; it would only precipitate my fate. The fears of my enemies would lead them to conclude that it covered some deep design."—*Sketches of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 153. The fate of this able minister will recal that of Nizam-ul-Mulk, the vizier of Malek Shah. See p. 146.

fluctuations, and in which the first principles of government are so little understood, it is next to impossible to arrive at either precision or certainty in any statistical estimates. Chardin rated the population of the empire, in the reign of Shah Abbas, at about forty millions; while Pinkerton, taking for his standard the supposed population of Asiatic Turkey, assigns to Western Persia (that is, the territory included in the present kingdom) a population of only six millions, and to the provinces of Candahar four millions. This estimate, which gives about a hundred souls to every square mile, Sir John Malcolm thinks, is not very remote from the truth.* Though diminished in a very considerable degree since the Affghan invasion, the population has, he says, increased during the present reign, and is at this period on the increase.† The despised Jews, however, are much decreased in numbers; the persecuted Guebers, whose residence is confined to a quarter of the city of Yezd, are probably over-estimated at 4000 families; and the Armenians, according to a census taken by order of the Bishop of

* The population of Asiatic Turkey, however, is immensely over-rated in this estimate, being only about twenty-five souls to a square mile; and that of European Turkey is only fifty-three.—See *MOD. TRAV. Turkey*, pp. 4—6. Mr. Fraser estimates the population of an area of 21,000 square miles, in one of the most populous districts of Persia, at only 164,000 souls, or little more than eight to a square mile.—FRASER'S *Khorasan*, 169.

† “There are, no doubt, many and powerful checks upon population in Persia; the unsettled state of the government; its oppression; the continual civil and foreign wars; and above all others, the debauchery and vice of a great proportion of the inhabitants. But on the other hand, when we consider the salubrity of the climate, the cheapness of provisions, (barley being often sold at $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per lb., and a good sheep at from 6s. to 8s.) the rare occurrence of famine, the bloodless character of their civil wars, and the obligation to marry, we may conclude that the population has not diminished so much within the last century as is generally supposed.”—*Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 519.

Julfa, do not amount to 12,500 souls, which is not more than a sixth part of their number, prior to the Affghan invasion.

When the king takes the field, it is said, that he generally makes up a force of a hundred thousand fighting men, which, with camp-followers, is doubled or even trebled. He had fully that number, Mr. Fraser says, according to report, in his bootless expeditions into Khorasan. His personal guards (*gholaums*), which is the only permanently embodied corps, amount to only between three and four thousand men. The only force which approaches the character of a regular standing army, is that which has been raised by Abbas Meerza, the heir-apparent and governor of Adjerbijan. This is computed at 9,400 infantry, and 10,640 cavalry, and, with the irregulars drawn from this province, and the troops of Erivan, may amount to between 40 and 50,000 men. When Abbas Meerza took the field against the Turks in 1822, he could, however, barely muster 35,000 men, including a large portion of inferior troops. "The most efficient troops in the king's command are those levies which the chiefs of tribes are bound to furnish at the call of their sovereign, consisting entirely of cavalry, and which, though still sufficiently hardy and active, have greatly degenerated from their ancient character for courage and zeal. There is, likewise, a species of militia, consisting of men bound to serve on foot upon emergency; but the equipment of these is so bad, and their disposition so questionable, that there is little reliance placed upon them....Not only is the present ruler of Persia unwarlike himself," adds Mr. Fraser, "but he has taken every possible step to break the martial spirit which he found in the country, and to destroy all he succeeded to of an army."

The chief sources of revenue in Persia are, 1. The regular taxes (*māleyāt*), comprising the taxes upon land and cattle, * capitation-taxes, transit and town duties upon merchandise; † 2. The irregular assessment (*saādurāut*), including occasional levies and impositions; and 3. Presents, fines, and confiscations, which are computed by Mr. Fraser to amount annually to not less than 500,000 *tomauns*, or half as much as the land revenue.‡ The following is given by Mr. Fraser as the result of the best information he could procure concerning the nett amounts received from the several provinces and governments.

	<i>Tomauns.</i>	<i>Tomauns.</i>
From the Province of Fars.....	300,000	
Deduct disbursements for the expenses of the province and princes.....	150,000	150,000
From the Province of Kerman.....		50,000
_____ Mekran.....		
_____ Khorasan §		
Carried forward,		200,000

* The land-tax formerly levied in Persia, was one-tenth of the gross produce; but lands held in *teeool* or fief, or for payment of military service, were exempt. An additional tenth has recently been levied as a composition in lieu of the irregular imposts, originally raised to supply the exigencies of government, so that the government-dues are now one-fifth; yet, the *saādurāut* continue to be levied, and form one of the heaviest grievances of the *ryot* or cultivator. Oxen and buffaloes used in agriculture are not separately taxed; but horses are rated at a real a head per annum; sheep and goats are rated one-third; asses and cows, four-fifths; bees, one-sixth per hive.—FRASER, p. 212.

† All merchandize pays an entry-duty at the first Persian town, averaging at 5 per cent. (*bis-yek*, one in twenty). But there are other transit-duties levied at the numerous *goomruk-khanehs*, or custom-houses. Shops and bazars pay a duty to the crown, of from two to twenty reals a year, according to their size.

‡ On the festival of Nou-rooze alone, it is calculated that the king receives in presents, from 1,000,000 to 1,200,000 *tomauns*.

§ The maintenance of this province costs money.

	<i>Tomauns.</i>	<i>Tomauns.</i>
Brought over,		200,000
From the Province of Senna (in Ardelan)....		30,000
— Governments of Cashan, Cazvin, and Zunjān		30,000
———— Yezd		54,000
———— Adjerbijan*.....		
———— Province of Mazanderan †.....		15,000
———— Ghelan	200,000	
Deduct allowance to the prince.....	40,000	
		160,000
From the Province of Irak (that part under the government of the <i>Sudr-ameen</i>).....		500,000
———— Kermanshah.....		
		989,000
Assumed amount of presents, fines, and contingencies,	1,500,000	
		2,489,000

Against this sum, not greatly exceeding a million and a half sterling, being the whole cash receipts of the royal treasury, are to be set, as disbursements, the maintenance of the royal establishment; ‡ the cost of presents and *khilauts* (dresses of honour); the pay of the *gholaums* or household troops; and the salaries of officers about the royal person. It may, therefore, be safely inferred, that, with all his meanness and avarice, the Persian monarch cannot be laying by very largely. Under a well regulated government, the country might soon be made to yield a regular revenue, vastly

* The maintenance of this province costs money.

† This province yields little revenue, because it furnishes the greater part of the army, to which purpose the revenue is applied.

‡ The royal harem includes, besides the Mohammedan complement of four chief wives, "three hundred married wives," according to Mr. Frazer; Lieutenant Alexander says, "one thousand ladies;" and, slaves and eunuchs included, the whole establishment may be estimated at 1500 persons. Futteh Ali Shah is believed to be the father of about 50 sons and at least 100 daughters; and, as many of the princes have families of twenty or thirty children, it is supposed that the royal progeny exceeds a thousand individuals.

exceeding the sum now raised by extortion and oppression.

In its present reduced state, Persia must be considering as occupying a very low rank among the nations both in civilization and in power; and as derived its political importance almost entirely from its geographical position, between the Russian and British territories. The late Emperor of France was believed to entertain the project of invading British India by the route of Persia and Caubul; * and it was with a view to baffle this chimerical scheme, that the ministers of Great Britain were induced to court the friendship, and to purchase the alliance of the Persian monarch by splendid embassies and annual subsidies.† The subsidy has at length been put a

* “Buonaparte,” says the Author of the Sketches, “had laid his plans for chaining the bear of Russia and the lion of Persia, with the design of harnessing them to his war-chariot, that he might drive in triumph over the rich plains of India. His name was familiar to numbers in Persia.” “Happen what will,” said an old aga, “he is a magnificent fellow, a perfect Faringee (European) Chenghiz Khan.”

† The attention of our Indian Government was first drawn to Persia by events occurring within its own sphere. When it was discovered that Tippoo Sultaun had sent an embassy to the Shah, it was deemed expedient to despatch a mission to counteract it; and Mehdee Ali Khan, a Hindoo gentleman of Persian extraction, was sent out in 1798, by Mr. Duncan, governor of Bombay. Neither party drew any result from these negotiations. The Indian envoy appears, indeed, to have indulged somewhat largely in the Persian style of embellishment, and Sir John Malcolm subsequently found occasion to contradict some of his exaggerations. “Your predecessor was a Persian, and we all exaggerate,” said the Shah: “you speak truth. But why did you send a Persian to my court? I suppose it was to find out what kind of a being I was, and whether my country was settled, before you deputed one of your own nation.” (*Sketches of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 134.) After the subversion of the power of Tippoo, India was thrown into alarm by the irruption of Zemaun Shah, king of the Affghans; and it was on this occasion, that Captain (afterwards Gen. Sir John) Malcolm

stop to; and Great Britain has of late assumed a somewhat more dignified attitude towards this haughty barbarian power, as mediator between the Courts of Tehraun and St. Petersburg. The last treaty of peace concluded between those two powers, and signed at Gulistân in October 1813, was negotiated under the mediation of Sir Gore Ouseley, the British ambassador at the Persian court. The want of precision in the demarcation of the frontier line, in that treaty, is represented to have been the remote cause of the renewal of hostilities.* The commissioners respec-

was despatched, in 1801, on an embassy to Futteh Ali Shah, which had for its object to induce the Persian monarch to make a diversion by attacking the Affghan territories. The mission fulfilled all its objects. The Shah gladly embraced the opportunity to invade Khorasan; and his conquests had the anticipated effect of recalling the Affghan chief from his Indian expedition. In the treaty of alliance concluded between Persia and the British Government, which was to be binding for ever, all Frenchmen were to be prohibited from entering Persia. Many years, however, had not elapsed, when it was discovered that a French agent, M. Jouannin, was in the highest favour at the Persian court, where he was employed in disciplining the troops after the European manner. In 1806, the Shah sent an embassy to Paris, which was returned on the part of the French Emperor, with a very splendid mission under General Gardanne; and when General Malcolm was again sent out, to counteract, if possible, the intrigues of the French, he learned that their influence was quite paramount in the court of Persia, and proceeded no further than Busheer. But soon after this, the failure of the French in their promises to procure the evacuation of Georgia, together with the news of the Spanish revolution, had so deeply shaken French influence at the court of Tehran, that Sir Harford Jones, who was sent out from Great Britain on a direct mission from the King, on arriving in 1808, met with a most auspicious reception. All the demands of the British minister were conceded, and General Gardanne received his dismissal. After the departure of Sir Harford, Sir Gore Ouseley was, in 1810, sent out as his Britannic Majesty's ambassador extraordinary to the court of Tehran.

* The boundary-line commences from the beginning of the plain of Adinah Bazar, and runs direct through the desert of

tively appointed to adjust the new boundary line, conformably to the treaty, were unable to come to any agreement; and the Russians, conscious of their superiority, had, at the death of the late Emperor, forcibly possessed themselves of the disputable territory extending along the north and north-eastern shores of Lake Gokcha, and of a district bordering on Kara-baugh, between the Capan and Mogree rivers. The former district is waste and unfertile, but commands the Pass of Ganja, affording to Persia an easy entrance to Georgia, and to Russia the means of rapidly overrunning the province of Erivan. Each power, therefore, has manifested a natural reluctance to abandon its claim to this territory. For an account of the present relative position of the belligerent parties, we are indebted to Lieutenant J. E. Alexander, who was attached to the suite of Colonel Macdonald Kinneir, Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Tehraun, from the Governor-General of India.

“It had been,” he remarks, “a great object of the Emperor Alexander’s crafty policy, to secure the Heir Apparent to the Persian throne in his interests, in order to facilitate his designs of pushing the Russian frontier to the Arras. With this view, he con-

Mogham, to the west of Yedibolek (or Eddi Boulak), on the river Arras, and then along the northern bank of that river, until its junction with the river Capanek (or Mogree-chai), at the back of the Mogree (or Muggari) hills. From the right bank of this river, the frontier line runs along the summits of the chain of black mountains of Pembek and Aliguz, which divide the province of Kara-baugh from the Persian district of Nakshivan. It then continues from the top of the Pembek mountains to the angle of the boundary of Shuragll, separating Erivan from Shamshadil and Kazak; thence, passing over the snowy summit of Mount Aliguz, and running nearly due W., through Aked, along the limits of Shuragll, to the Arpachai river, where the Russian frontier borders on the Armenian territories of the Porte.—*PORTER’S Travels*, vol. ii. p. 513.—*ALEXANDER*, p. 269.

sented to a stipulation in the treaty of Gulistan, which, though it merely bound Russia to recognise as the lawful heir to the throne of Persia, that son of the Shah whom his majesty should appoint as his successor, was in effect, as secretly understood, a guarantee that Prince Abbas Mirza should be supported by Russia to the prejudice of his elder brother; and upon his nomination by the Shah as heir apparent, he was so recognized by the Court of St. Petersburg. By the death of that brother, Abbas Mirza's right to the succession became indisputable.*

“ Previously to this event, however, Abbas Mirza felt so much his dependency upon the Russian Emperor, that the latter acquired such an influence at the Court of Tabreez, as was viewed by the Shah's ministers with considerable jealousy and alarm. The intrigues carried on at that court, under the able management of the Russian minister, M. Amburger, were of the most deep and dangerous character; and the Prince, who secretly entertained a dislike to Russia and a regard for the British, was prevailed upon, partly by his hopes and fears, and partly by misrepresentations, to look passively upon the encroaching system of Russia, and to listen to projects which were hostile to the interests of Great Britain in the East.

“ The death of Alexander, the diminished dependence of Abbas Mirza upon the Russian Court, the growing suspicions engendered by the conduct of

* Mahomed Aly Meerza, prince-governor of Kermanshah, who, previously to his death in 1824, kept up the most effective military establishment in Persia, with which he had overrun the greater part of the pashalik of Bagdad, and was threatening the capital, when the *cholera morbus* broke out among his troops, and occasioned his precipitate return to Kermanshah, where he died soon after.

that Court, and, perhaps more than all, the skilful and unremitted exertions of Major Hart and Dr. Cormick at the Court of Tabreez, who possess much of the Prince's confidence, brought about a decided change in the sentiments and policy of his Royal Highness. Accordingly, when the mission of Prince Menzikoff was announced to the Court of Tabreez,* the Prince Royal, in reporting it to the Shah, desired that he might be authorized to oppose the Russian ambassador's advance to Tehran, unless he previously consented to the evacuation of Gokcha. The Shah appeared at first to be disposed to listen to his son's proposal, more especially as he wished to avoid the embarrassment of being obliged to receive the Envoy at his Court, and to refuse him an audience, as he had determined to do, in the event of a refusal to evacuate Gokcha. The Shah was, however, persuaded by his ministers, who were supported by our own *chargé-d'affaires*, not to refuse the Russian Envoy admission to his Court, which might be a rejection of favourable overtures from the new Emperor. Some reports likewise prevailed at Tehran, that a civil war was likely to occur in Russia, through disputes regarding the succession to the crown.

“ While Prince Menzikoff was still in Georgia, a detachment of Russian troops advanced to Aberan, on the frontier of Erivan, which has always been regarded as Persian territory. This simultaneous march of a Russian force into Persia, and the appointment of a special mission to the Court of Tehran, were incongruities inexplicable by the ministers of

* The ostensible object of the Prince's mission was, to announce the accession of the Emperor Nicholas; but he was authorized to make proposals for adjusting the dispute with regard to the frontier districts.

the Shah, and led them naturally to believe that the mission was a mere blind, and that submission to former insults had emboldened Russia to commit further aggressions.

“ Upon the arrival of Prince Menzikoff on the Persian frontier, he was received with great respect, and experienced a friendly reception from Prince Abbas Mirza, at Tabreez. He proceeded thence to the royal camp at Sultaneah, where he was treated with distinction; and although he did not experience at his audience those marks of favour with which the British Envoy was honoured, this circumstance was partly attributable to a failure in etiquette.* Negotiations were immediately opened by the Persian ministers. Upon their inquiring the powers of the Russian Envoy, he declared that he had no authority to recede from the engagements entered into by the Georgian authorities in concert with Futteh Ali Khan (the Persian envoy from the Prince Royal); that he had nothing to offer beyond this, and could not consent to the evacuation of Gokcha, until the Persians retired from the territory bordering on Capan.

“ In the mean time, the aggressions and the insolence of the Russian authorities in Georgia, and more particularly their interference with the religious tenets and prejudices of their Mahomedan subjects, had excited the resentment of the warlike tribes on the Georgian frontier, who offered to co-operate with

* Prince Menzikoff states, that the letter from the Emperor was not taken from his hands by the Shah, conformably to the ceremonial previously regulated; but when he offered it, his Majesty signified by a sign, that he should lay it on a cushion. The prince was not asked to sit, nor were his suite permitted to enter the royal tent, but stood in a line outside. “ For all this,” the Writer says, “ the Russians had themselves alone to blame, for they still insist on wearing their boots.”—P. 207.

the Persians in a war with Russia. The Mooshtaed, or head of the Persian church, was applied to, in order that he might use his endeavours for the same end. All the moollahs took up the cause, and loudly called upon the Shah in the name of Allee, to avenge the insults offered to their religion, on pain of being loaded with the curses of the faithful. The petitions of the discontented and injured Georgian chiefs; the representations of his prime minister, by whom the petitions were recommended; the denunciations of the moollahs; and the urgent solicitations of the Prince Royal, who now became as eager for war with Russia as he had formerly been subservient to her policy; did not induce the Shah to precipitate his subjects into a contest with so powerful an empire as Russia. In this resolution, his Majesty was supported by some of his ministers. He declared, indeed, that if Russia positively refused to relinquish Gokcha, he would declare war; because he felt that the safety of Erivan depended upon the preservation of that apparently insignificant district.

“ The Persian ministers, assembled at the tent of the premier, made a further effort to extort from Prince Menzikoff some concession, however trifling, which might save the honour of the Shah, and preserve him from the appearance of retracting the declaration made to his subjects. The only proposal which Prince Menzikoff offered, was to suspend the negotiations till he could receive fresh instructions from St. Petersburg, and in the mean time to visit the points on the frontier which were in dispute. The Persian Government consented, proposing only that the Gokcha district should be abandoned by the Russians, with the understanding that the Persians should not occupy it till the result of the reference to

the Russian Court was known. To this proposition, however, Prince Menzikoff could not be prevailed upon to consent. The ferment in Persia now increased; the moollahs called upon the Shah to redeem his pledge; the tribes on the frontiers were already in arms; and the enthusiasm inspired into all ranks throughout Persia, gave the expected contest the aspect of a religious war, and made it impossible for the Persian ministers to disappoint the wishes of the people.

“ The reflections of the Persian Government upon the conduct adopted by the Russian Court, impelled it to believe that the latter was bent upon war; otherwise so easy an expedient to prevent that evil as the temporary evacuation of the Gokcha territory, which Russia had always the power to re-occupy, would not have been declined by the Envoy. The delay occasioned by a reference to St. Petersburg would at all events have retarded hostilities for a year, since, before the return of an answer to the reference, the approach of winter would have forced the Persian troops to retire to their own country.

“ The Shah felt keenly the disappointment of his hopes, when he found that the special mission, which he expected would evince the desire of the Emperor Nicholas to maintain amicable relations with him, was sent merely to demand the ratification of Futteh Ali Khan's agreement with General Yermoloff, which had already been formally refused by his Majesty. Sensible that he was committed to the nation, urged by the importunity of the border chiefs and the ecclesiastics of Persia, and conscious that, should he submit to the humiliation of concession, under existing circumstances, he could have no security against future encroachments, the Shah determined at length upon

resistance, though with a full sense of the danger. It was, nevertheless, still intimated to Prince Menzikoff, that the negotiations which were broken off, might be resumed at some town on the frontier; and Mr. Willock was requested by the Shah to communicate with the Russian Envoy (unofficially), with a view of interposing his good offices to prevent a rupture between the two states. This interposition, however, had no effect in procuring a pledge for the evacuation of Gokcha, the Envoy declaring he had no control over General Yermoloff. Prince Menzikoff therefore left the royal camp at Sultania on the 26th of July. The Shah proceeded from Sultania to Ardebeel, thence to Achar, and war was formally commenced on the part of Persia.

“About this period, the Russian subjects in Dagistan, Shervan, and Shekee were in arms. In Talish, the people rose and cut off the detachments dispersed throughout the country; they then took Askeran, and, in concert with a Persian army, laid siege to Lan-keran on the Caspian, which had been taken by the Russians in the last war. It was now garrisoned by a weak battalion of regulars, who, alarmed probably by the massacre of the troops in Askeran, withdrew in the night to the island of Sari, leaving in the fort six pieces of cannon, military stores, and provisions in abundance.

“The exasperation of the inhabitants of the Georgian provinces had risen to such a height, that the Russians were cut off by them whenever they were met with and could be overpowered. The insurgents bitterly complained of the tyranny and barbarity of the Governor-General, Yermoloff, and his subordinate officers, who paid no regard to the religious prejudices of the Mahomedans, ill-treated the women,

and were guilty of great enormities. General Yermoloff is reported to have amputated the right hands of a whole tribe, because a Russian detachment in the Caucasus was fired at; and a Russian soldier having been murdered near a village, the inhabitants of which refused to surrender the perpetrator of the deed, men, women, and children, horses, dogs, and every living creature within the walls, were exterminated by the general's order. The conduct of the other party was nearly as barbarous, as the following occurrence will prove. The Russian commandant at Karakalissa, threatened by the Surdar of Erivan, sent for a reinforcement to Ganja, which was garrisoned by a battalion one thousand strong. The officer in command at Ganja conceived that, if the people were sworn to fidelity on the Koran, they would remain true to the Russian cause. The people took the oath, having been told by their moollah, that there would be no sin in taking it, and none in breaking it. Seven hundred of the garrison then marched for Karakalissa, leaving three hundred behind in Ganja. The moollah, having secretly distributed a quantity of spirits amongst the soldiers, invited the officers to an entertainment, in the midst of which they were murdered, together with their intoxicated men. The moollah then set out, with about four hundred horse, after the detachment on its march to Karakalissa; he overtook them on a halt: proceeding to the commanding officer's tent, he told him that he came with news of the disaffection of the people of Ganja, and requested him to return. Whilst the moollah held the officer in conversation, his horsemen mixed with the unsuspecting Russians, and, at a signal, attacked and cut them up; two hundred only escaped.

“ When the Russian envoy, Prince Menzikoff,

reached Tabreez, on his return to Teflis, he was treated with much disrespect. His couriers had been stopped, and one or two murdered, between Tabreez and Sultania, and their despatches detained. He wished to procure the attendance of the English serjeants at Tabreez, on his journey to the frontiers, as he had no European escort except a serjeant's guard of Lancers. But the British officer in command of the troops was obliged to refuse his request, as they formed part of Abbas Mirza's army. On his arrival at Erivan, August 16th, the Envoy was arrested by the Surdar of that province, and detained there for twenty-five days, experiencing many affronts. Prince Menzikoff communicated this outrage upon the law of nations to the British Envoy (Col. Macdonald), who instantly made such strong remonstrances upon the subject to the Shah's ministers, that a royal firman was despatched to the Surdar of Erivan for the immediate release of the prince and his suite. In order to obviate any difficulty or impediment which might be created by the Surdar, Major Monteith was sent to Erivan with another firman, to effectuate their liberation if it had not already taken place, and to accompany the Russian envoy across the frontier to Teflis, or any other Russian station. The Prince, however, had been released, and had reached Teflis, when the Major arrived at the Surdar's camp. It appears that the cause of this detention of the Russian envoy was a rumour that General Yermoloff had been removed from his office of governor-general, and that Prince Menzikoff was appointed his successor: the Persian Court therefore thought, that, if the envoy was detained, the troops in Georgia would be left without a head.

“ The army under the orders of the Prince Royal,

which took the field against the Russians, amounted in number (including irregulars) to forty-five or fifty thousand men. The *Surbaz* (resolute), or disciplined battalions, were twelve thousand strong; there were also a few companies of foot artillery, and several hundreds of Russian deserters. The Shah's military force, except ten or twelve thousand disciplined *Janbaz* (contemners of life), is but an untrained rabble, who plunder their own countrymen more frequently than their enemy, and, under pretence of collecting contributions for the prosecution of the war, rob the villagers, as well as travellers, of their valuables. The Russian force on the southern side of the Caucasus, consisted of 32,000 infantry, 1,200 dragoons, 6000 Cossacks, and two battalions of artillery; but they were mostly dispersed in detachments throughout Georgia.

“Previously to the two armies coming into actual contact, several affairs had taken place, in which both parties had been, at different points, successful.

“The Surdar of Erivan, who had distinguished himself during the previous war, was not idle. A Russian force, 7000 strong, with twelve battering guns, under the direction of the chief engineer, had been collected at Karakalissa, evidently with a view of reducing Erivan. The Surdar had, however, taken Goomree, slaughtering the male inhabitants (who were Armenians), whose heads he sent into camp. He recovered Gokcha, Balikloo, and Aberan, from the Russians, and had taken about five hundred prisoners. Karakalissa was evacuated on his approach, the Russian force which occupied it retiring upon Looree, a stronger position, after the reinforcement from Ganja had been cut off by the moollah of that place, as already mentioned. The Surdar and his troops are

represented by the Persian accounts to have had a narrow escape upon entering Karakalissa: the Russian commandant had dug a mine, intending to blow up the Surdar's army as they entered the town; but it exploded too soon, and did no harm.

“ The Prince Royal directed his march towards Sheesha, in Karabaugh, at the end of July. This is a rich and beautiful country; the valleys are covered with forests of the finest timber, from whence it derives its name of ‘ The Black Garden.’ Wild oats wave luxuriantly over the plains for miles together, far, indeed, as the eye can reach; whilst the landscape is improved and the soil fertilized by the clear streams of numerous rivers which meander through the valleys, where herds of deer abound.

“ Sheesha is a considerable town; its inhabitants are partly Tartars and partly Armenians. It is built on a lofty precipitous rock, and the houses, upwards of two thousand in number, appear to hang in a very perilous situation. The Russians had sustained some loss in this quarter: the garrison of Sheesha having sent a detachment to attack a Persian force which had collected in the neighbourhood, the inhabitants of Karabaugh had cut them off.

“ The Persian army, under the Prince Royal, having advanced to the Arras, crossed the river, and pitched near a noble bridge called Khoda Afereen, where he made prisoners a detachment of Cossacks sent to reconnoitre. From these he learned, that the Russian troops, ignorant of the war, were dispersed throughout Karabaugh; and that a battalion of infantry, 1,200 strong, with four field-pieces, quartered near Gourous, could be cut off. On the 26th July, he marched, and hearing that the Russian battalion was retreating towards Sheesha, the Prince sent forward his

son, Ismael Mirza, with the Karabaugh cavalry, and the Ghoolam Tafunchees, to harass their rear and impede their march, whereby he was enabled to come up with them. He attacked the Russians in a pass called Kunjerik : 400 Russians were killed and wounded ; the rest laid down their arms ; one lieutenant-colonel, eight other officers, and four guns, fell into the hands of the Persians.*

“ The Prince, encouraged by this success, and urged by Mhatee Koulee Khan and Abul Futteh Khan, the exiled chiefs of Karabaugh, † proceeded to Sheesha, took the town, and invested the hill-fort, containing a garrison 2000 strong, but unfurnished with provisions.‡ While the Prince Royal lay before Sheesha, he despatched his eldest son, Mahomed Mirza (governor of Hamadan), accompanied by Ameer Khan, maternal uncle of the Prince Royal, and a body of 10,000 men, with six field-pieces, on the road to Teflis. They encountered a Russian force of 6000 infantry and 3000 cavalry under General Mududoff §, who had previously sent a detachment of 600 men to surprise a Persian post ; but this body falling in with Mahomed Mirza’s

* The colonel, Mizemooski, assigned as the cause of the defeat, “ that they had fought for nine hours in the heat of the day, at a spot where they could not procure a drop of water ; that, totally overcome by heat and thirst, after 400 had been killed or wounded, one gun dismounted, and a tumbril blown up, they were obliged to throw down their arms.”

† “ There were also in camp, the discontented chiefs of Shirwan, Shekee, and Talish, the chiefs of the Lesghees, and the son of the Waly.”

‡ Owing to the abominable misconduct of the Russian governor, who sold all the grain in the magazine, (there having been a scarcity in the adjoining provinces,) and “ pocketed the proceeds of the sale.”

§ An Armenian by birth, educated by a Russian priest, who, on entering the army, “ Russianized himself by adding *off* to his Arabic name, *Mudud* (assistance.)”

army, sustained a loss of 200 men. A battle took place between the two armies on the 2nd of September, near Shamkhar, five *fursungs* from Teflis, when the Persians were defeated. They lost a considerable number of men, and also Ameer Khan, whose head was laid at the feet of the Russian general. Notwithstanding the provocations given to the Russians, by the heads of their slain being sent to the royal camp, and built into pyramids, Mududoff ordered the head and body of Ameer Khan to be decently interred. The Russians, after this success, advanced to Elizabetopol, or Ganja, from which they drove the Persians with great loss. The Persians had previously slaughtered the unwarlike Armenians, and swept off a colony of German Moravians settled near the town, whom they sold as slaves to the Kourds, for three and four *tomauns* each.*

“ The Prince Royal, upon receiving the news of these disasters, hastily raised the siege of Sheesha, and marched towards Teflis, to revenge the death of his uncle and the disgrace of his son. The Armenians of Karabaugh continued hovering on his flanks and rear, and cutting off stragglers during his advance. A considerable portion of his army was engaged in foraging and marauding excursions; but, as he advanced by slow marches, he collected 40,000 men, half Nizam or disciplined troops (for he had been joined by Alaiar Khan, the prime minister of Persia, with a considerable force); the remainder, cavalry and irregulars, with twenty field-pieces.

“ On the 25th September, the Prince Royal found himself opposite to the Russian army, commanded by

* On this being communicated to his Persian majesty, he asked if any of the German women were handsome: being answered in the negative, “ then let the Kourds keep them,” he replied,

General Paskevitch, which was strongly posted about five miles from Elizabethpol, waiting his approach. The Prince resolved to attack them, and divided his army into three bodies, with the cavalry in the intervals and on the flanks. After a cannonade had been kept up for some time on both sides, the Prince, finding that the heavy metal of the Russians (they had brought battering guns of large calibre into the field) was doing great execution amongst his troops, ordered a general charge upon the Russians, who were drawn up in hollow squares. When the Persian troops approached the enemy, the latter quickly formed line, and met the advance of the Persians, whose first line, being broken, fell back upon the second, and threw it into disorder. The reserve, seeing the fate of the other troops, fled towards the camp without firing a shot. Several standards and four field-pieces fell into the hands of the Russians; the other guns, under the direction of Serjeant Dawson, were saved. The gallant artilleryman retreated in so masterly a manner, that he kept the Russian light infantry completely at bay. The loss sustained by the Persians amounted to 2000; the Russians lost 500 killed and wounded.

“ The Prince, perceiving the fate of his army, fled with a few horsemen, and did not halt till he was fifty *fursungs* on the Persian side of the Arras. His troops made for the camp, to collect their effects; a general scramble ensued, and the cash-chest of the Prince was plundered by his own soldiers. All order and discipline being at an end amongst the wreck of the army, each soldier betook himself to his home.

“ When the news of this total overthrow was communicated to the Shah, he was of course extremely dejected: he at length broke out into invectives against

the Prince Royal, for his rash sacrifice of so fine an army in a single day ; but, subsequently relenting, he invited his son to the royal camp. Abbas Mirza replied to the invitation, by acknowledging that he was ashamed to appear in the presence of his father and brothers. After some delay, he ventured to visit his royal father, and his approach was announced, unexpectedly, to the camp. Major G. Willock was deputed by the British Envoy to meet and console him. The spirits of the Prince seemed to be quite sunk ; he confessed that he had acted with great imprudence in attempting to contend against a well-appointed and disciplined army in the open field ; and declared that, had he acted differently, agreeably to the advice he had received, he might easily have driven his enemies out of Georgia. In passing the lines of the Janbaz infantry, loud expressions of dissatisfaction, and even hootings, were heard, which were extremely galling to the feelings of the unfortunate Prince. The Shah received him graciously, and endeavoured to cheer the drooping spirits of his favourite son, whilst the governors of the different provinces were despatched immediately to re-assemble their respective troops.

“The Surdar of Erivan, having also sustained a check in his advance, and having intercepted a correspondence between the Armenians of Yeuch Kalissa and those in Georgia, which proved that they were disaffected towards him, fell back and occupied the Three Churches, sending the priests into Erivan.

“General Mududoff making a demonstration of his intention to march upon Erivan, the Shah broke up his camp, and marched to Tabreez. A tremendous storm of wind and rain burst upon the plain of Achar, just as his majesty was about to leave the ground. He refused to sleep in Tabreez, but remained for some

days outside the city, in a garden-house belonging to the Prince Royal. The Shah finally encamped about twenty miles from Tabreez, in the direction of Murand. In the early part of October he returned to Tehran.

“ General Mududoff finally took up a position opposite to Aslandoos (where the Persians had sustained a defeat during the last war), and made incursions, at the head of 5000 men, into the Persian territories, in the direction of Erivan. Retaliating upon the unhappy people the disorders and cruelties committed by the troops of Persia in Georgia, he laid waste the country, burnt the villages, and massacred the inhabitants.

“ The Prince Royal, having collected another army, took post upon the Arras. His troops hovered about the frontier, and occasionally penetrated into Georgia on marauding expeditions. Nothing, however, of any moment occurred on either side; and towards the close of October, it appears, his Royal Highness retreated towards Ardebeel, having closed the campaign until the spring. It was generally believed in Persia, that the Russians would attempt no enterprise of any moment till next season, although they had transported, by the co-operation of the Georgians, a heavy battering train from Teflis, destined probably for the siege of Erivan; and great preparations were making at St. Petersburg to supply the arsenals with shells and rockets for the prosecution of the war.

“ The interposition of the British Government, it may be rationally expected, will be the means of preventing another campaign.

“ If the Russian Cabinet, however, has really instigated the measures of the local government of Georgia, and is determined, in spite of the mediation of a

friendly power, to profit by the present opportunity of accomplishing the schemes of aggrandizement which it has cherished from the time of Peter the Great, success is not so easy of attainment as may at first be supposed. Persia, though not provided with artificial bulwarks of defence, is strong by nature; and if the greater part of her army is undisciplined and ill calculated to cope with the Russians in pitched battles, and according to the system of European warfare, yet, the bulk of her population consists of warlike tribes, who, if a proper impulse were given to them, would furnish a more effectual defence to Persia than if the country were studded with fortresses. Nor is such an impulse wanting in the present contest, which has arisen from a belief that the Russians have insulted the Moslem religion. The war is regarded by the Persians as a holy war; they are persuaded by their moollahs that their religion has been invaded; and no motive is so well calculated to excite all the energies of a Mahomedan population, as a belief that their faith is menaced by an infidel power.

“Should the Russians, therefore, continue the war, and march their heavy dragoons and infantry into Persia, the Persians need only remove the provisions, forage, &c., from their line of march, and harass the invaders with their numerous and superior cavalry, in order to impede effectually the enemy’s advance across barren plains. The successes of the Persians at the commencement of the present war, shew that there is less inequality than might be expected between the respective forces; and the result of the last war, in which, after ten or twelve years’ exertion, Russia was unable to push her boundaries to the Araxes, affords a strong proof of the same fact. In the present war, the Russians labour under greater disadvantages

than during the last; they have to convey their munitions of war over an immense tract of country, in which they must leave strong posts, not merely to keep up the communication with their magazines, but to overawe their disaffected subjects in Georgia.

“ Upon the whole,” remarks this intelligent Officer, “ it may be concluded, that, although Persia may be compelled to submit to some further sacrifices if the war continues, the conquest of that empire by the Russians is perfectly chimerical, and the invasion of India by them a mere bugbear.”*

* Alexander's Travels, pp. 269—89. Upon the subject of an invasion of India, into which it scarcely falls within our province to enter, our readers are referred to the Observations of Mr. Macdonald Kinneir, “ Journey through Asia Minor, &c.” 8vo. pp. 512—539; and to Mr. Fraser's Remarks in his “ Journey into Khorasan,” pp. 231—240. “ The idea of invading Hindostan by the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf,” the former gentleman remarks, “ can be regarded in no other light than as chimerical, by all who are in any way acquainted with those seas and the countries adjoining them.” An attempt to penetrate into India through Asia Minor and Persia, is shewn to be equally visionary. It would require that both the Turkish and the Persian empires should first be either overthrown or completely gained over to the interests of the invaders; and even then, the distance to be traversed, (upwards of three thousand miles,) and the physical difficulties arising from the nature of the country, would render the enterprise impracticable to an army of any formidable strength. The route by which a European power could with least difficulty penetrate into India, would be from the Bay of Mangushluk on the Caspian, by Khyvah in Khaurizm, along the Oxus, to Balkh and Bokhara, and thence over the Hindoo-Coosh. By this route, a land journey of upwards of a thousand miles through an ill furnished or desert country, would be obviated, as there are means of water-carriage to within about 250 miles of Caubul. The Russians have of late discovered a great anxiety to establish themselves at Mangushluk, and to open an amicable intercourse with Khyvah and Bokhara, to which courts a Russian embassy was sent in 1819, 20; it met, however, but an indifferent reception. But not only must the power of the Tatars be broken, before an expedition could penetrate to Caubul; the difficulties of the enterprise would then have only commenced.

Through all the political revolutions of twenty centuries, the internal condition of Persia has remained essentially unaltered. It is this circumstance, as has been already remarked, which gives so much interest to descriptions of the country. "The power of the sovereigns," remarks Sir John Malcolm, "and of the satraps of ancient times, the gorgeous magnificence of the court; the habits of the people; their division into citizens, martial tribes, and savage mountaineers; the internal administration and the mode of warfare, have continued essentially the same; and the Persians, as far as we have the means of judging, are, at the present period, not a very different people from what they were in the time of Darius and of Nousheerwan."

CHARACTER OF THE PERSIANS.

Nothing is more unsatisfactory, for the most part, than the attempts made by passing travellers, to seize and define the national character. The Persians have often been vaguely described as the Frenchmen of Asia. Their politeness and volubility, their propensity to gasconade, and their minute attention to modes of dress and etiquette, are the grounds of the supposed resemblance. But this character attaches chiefly to the inhabitants of Shiraz and other capitals. In Persia, the various classes of society are so distinct, and among the inhabitants of the several provinces are found tribes of such different origin, that the common features impressed upon society by the religion and government, must undergo very essential

This is, however, Mr. M. Kinneir says, "the only manner in which India can ever be invaded with any prospect of success;" and Capt. Fraser considers it as not altogether impracticable, although its difficulties and dangers may lead it to be denounced as chimerical,

modifications. Sir John Malcolm thus discriminates the general character of the different classes of the community.

“ The ministers and chief officers of the Court of Persia are almost always men of polished manners, well skilled in the business of their respective departments, of pleasant conversation, subdued temper, and very acute observation ; but these agreeable and useful qualities are, in general, all that they possess. Nor is virtue or liberal knowledge to be expected in men whose lives are wasted in attention to forms ; whose means of subsistence are derived from the most corrupt sources ; whose occupation is intrigues that have always the same objects,—that of preserving themselves or of ruining others ; who cannot, without danger, speak any language but that of flattery and deceit ; and who are, in short, condemned by their condition, to be venal, artful, and false. There have, no doubt, been many ministers of Persia, whom it would be injustice to class in this general description ; but even those most distinguished for their virtues and their talents, have been forced, in some degree, to accommodate their principles to their station ; and unless where the confidence of their sovereign has placed them beyond the fear of rivals, necessity has compelled them to practise habits of subserviency and dissimulation.

“ The characters of the governors of provinces and of cities, may be said to be, in a considerable degree, formed on that of the reigning sovereign. But the system of the government must always dispose this class to abuse the brief authority with which they are invested. They are, however, from the situation in which they are placed, in general more manly and open, both in their manner and conduct, than the

ministers and courtiers ; and are, therefore, as a body, entitled to more respect.

“ The religious orders in Persia are divided into several classes. The character of the few who have attained very high rank, has been before noticed. They are usually men of learning, of mild temper, and retired habits. They are very careful to preserve the respect they enjoy, by cherishing the impressions that are entertained of their piety and humility. It is rare to see them intolerant, except in cases where they deem the interest of that religion of which they are the head, to be in danger. The lower classes of the priesthood in Persia are commonly of a very opposite character to their superiors. With little knowledge and great pretensions, they demand a respect which they seldom receive, and are, consequently, among the most discontented of the community. The general disposition of the Persians to treat strangers of a different religion with kindness and hospitality, is a subject of constant irritation to them. They rail at all communication with infidels, and endeavour to obtain an importance with the lower orders of the people by a display of their bigotry and intolerance. This class of men are often accused, by their countrymen, of indulging the worst passions of the mind. To say, a man hates like a *moollah*, is to assert that he cherishes towards another, sentiments of the most inveterate hostility.

“ There is a considerable difference of character among the inhabitants of the various cities and towns of Persia, which originates in the opposite feelings and habits derived from their ancestors. The natives of Kazveen, Tabreez, Hamadan, Shiraz, and Yezd, are as remarkable for their courage, as those of Koom,

Kashan, and Isfahan are for their cowardice. The former are chiefly descended from martial tribes; while the forefathers of the latter have, for many centuries, pursued civil occupations. But, though some of the citizens of Persia are less warlike than others, the different shades of character which this occasions, are not of so much consequence as to prevent their being included in a general description. The whole of this community may be deemed, as far as regards their personal appearance, a fine race of men. They are not tall; but it is rare to see any of them diminutive or deformed, and they are, in general, strong and active. Their complexions vary from a dark olive to a fairness which approaches that of a northern European; and if they have not all the bloom of the latter, their florid, healthy look often gives them no inconsiderable share of beauty. As a people, they may be praised for their quickness of apprehension, their vivacity, and the natural politeness of their manners. They are sociable and cheerful; and, with some remarkable exceptions, as prodigal in disbursement as they are eager of gain. The higher classes of the citizens of Persia are kind and indulgent masters; and the lower ranks are, as far as respects the active performance of their duty, and the prompt execution of the orders they receive, the best of servants. In countries where the law grants equal protection to all ranks of society, and where servitude does not imply dependence, the master and servant are much more separated than in despotic states. In the latter, where there are no middle classes, the servant is often the humble friend, and lives in habits of intimacy that could exist only where the actual distinction is so great, as to remove all danger of either forgetting the inequality of their condition.

“ The falsehood of the Persians is proverbial ; nor are the inhabitants of that country forward to deny this national reproach. But they argue, that this vice appertains to the government, and is the natural consequence of the condition of the society in which they live ; and there can be no doubt, that, when rulers practise violence and oppression, those who are oppressed will shield themselves by every means within their power ; and when they are destitute of combination and strength, they can only have recourse to art and duplicity. Nor is the moral character always debased by the use of this species of defence. Instances continually occur in Persia, as in other countries subject to an arbitrary government, where the head of a village, or the magistrate of a city, entitles himself to the gratitude and admiration of those under him, by a virtuous and undaunted perseverance in falsehood, by which he endangers his own life and property, to save others who consider him as their guardian and protector. The frame of policy in Persia, is, perhaps, still more calculated to render men artful and false, than the constitution of their government. The wives and slaves of a despotic husband and master must have all the vices of their debased condition. The first lessons which their children learn from the example of those they love, is to practise deceit ; and this early impression is confirmed by all their future habits. They may hear and admire moral sentences upon the beauty and excellence of truth ; but prudence warns them against a rigid adherence to so dangerous a virtue. The oaths which they constantly use to attest their veracity, are only proofs of their want of it. They swear by the head of the king, by that of the person they address, by their own, by that of their son, that they are not asserting

what is false ; and if a stranger should continue to evince suspicion, they sometimes exclaim : ‘ Believe me ; for, though a Persian, I am speaking truth.’ There are, no doubt, some of the natives of Persia, who do not deserve to be included in this general description, and who are distinguished by their regard for truth ; but their numbers are too inconsiderable to save their countrymen from the reproach of falsehood, as a prevalent national vice.

“ The citizens of Persia are not subdued by their situation into a submissive character. They are easily inflamed into passion, and act, when under its influence, like men careless of the result. A stranger who is unacquainted with the nature of the government, and the latitude of speech which it permits in those whom it oppresses, is surprised to hear the meanest inhabitant of a town venting imprecations against his superiors ; nay, sometimes against the sacred person of the king himself. These extraordinary ebullitions of passion, which are very common among the lower orders in Persia, generally pass unheeded. Sometimes they may provoke a reproof, or a few blows ; but they never receive consequence from any unwise interference of power to repress them.*

“ The character of the military tribes differs essentially from that of the other inhabitants of Persia. The chiefs of these clans are often as much distinguished for their generosity as their courage. They are, from their condition, less artful than the ministers and principal civil officers of the kingdom ; but they cannot be deemed exempt from that vice, though it is corrected by their pride and violence. Arrogant

* “ The Persians vent their abuse, not only on the person who has offended them, but on his whole kindred, and more particularly his female relatives. Their abuse is generally very obscene.”

from their birth, and surrounded from their infancy with devoted dependents, their minds are habituated to overrate their own pretensions, and to depreciate those of others. When inflamed with passion, they in an instant lose that courtly manner which they are accustomed to assume, and give way to the most ungovernable rage. They seldom suffer from the bold impudence of the language which they use on these occasions, as they can always plead in excuse the habits of the rude class to which they belong ; and the consideration they demand upon this ground, is hardly ever refused, even by the monarch himself, if he has been the object of their intemperance. The character of these military nobles may be said to change with the state of their country. When that is settled for any long period, they lose a great deal of their native honesty and violence. Educated at the capital, where, in youth, they are generally kept as hostages for the good conduct of their fathers, and compelled to constant attendance on the king, after they have attained manhood, they become in time courtiers, and are not, except in being more haughty, materially different from the other nobles and principal officers of the country. We can neither praise them, nor any other of the higher ranks in Persia, for their strictness in moral or religious duties. To the former, they do not even pretend to give much attention ; and though they are careful as to the observance of all the forms of the latter, they often appear indifferent as to the substance, and are in the habit of discussing the tenets and dogmas of their faith with a freedom that sometimes borders upon impiety.

“ The character of the *Eelleats*, or men who continue to dwell in tents, is very opposite to that of the inhabitants of cities. They have the virtues and vices

of their condition; are sincere, hospitable, and brave; but rude, violent, and rapacious. They are not in need of falsehood and deceit, and therefore not much in the habit of practising them: but, if they have fewer vices than the citizens of Persia, it is evidently the absence of temptation, and the ignorance of luxury and refinement, which give them all the superiority they boast; for, it is remarked, that they never settle in towns, or enter them as victors, without exceeding the inhabitants in every species of profligacy.

“The females of Persia who dwell in towns, are usually in the situation of slaves; and have, therefore, many of the qualities which belong to that condition. The different shades of character of a race who can hardly be said to have any influence in the community, is of little importance; and if it were otherwise, we cannot have sufficient information to form any correct judgement upon it. The females of the wandering tribes enjoy a fair portion of liberty; and if they are inferior to the natives of cities, in beauty of person and softness of manners, they excel them in industry and many virtues. We meet, indeed, with frequent examples among this class, of an elevation of sentiment, and an heroic courage, which nothing but the freedom of their condition could inspire.

“In speaking generally of the Persians, we may describe them as a handsome, active, and robust race of men; of lively imagination, quick apprehension, and agreeable and prepossessing manners. As a nation, they may be termed brave; though the valour they have displayed, like that of every other people in a similar state of society, has, in a great degree, depended upon the character of their leaders, and the nature of those objects for which they have fought. Their vices are still more prominent than their vir-

tues. Compelled by the nature of their government to have recourse, on every occasion, to art or violence, they are alternately submissive and tyrannical. Many of their more serious defects of character may be attributed to the same cause ; and there is, perhaps, no country in which so much of the immorality of its inhabitants can be referred to a bad system of internal administration, as Persia. This reflection, though it may mitigate the sense we entertain of the depravity of individuals, leaves little hope of their amendment. For it is evident, this can be effected only by the concurrence of many radical changes, with a complete alteration in their political condition ; an event which neither their past history nor their present state can lead us to anticipate.” *

Little remains to be added to this able and discriminating description of the Persians, proceeding, as it does, from the pen of a writer who not only enjoyed such extensive opportunities of personal observation, but, by his urbanity and address, rendered the English name so popular among the people of the country. The testimony of Chardin deserves, however, to be cited, as serving to shew, how very similar an impression was produced upon the mind of that intelligent traveller, by their ancestors of the seventeenth century.

“ As to their minds, the Persians excel not less than in the beauty of their forms. They are endowed with an imagination lively, prompt, and fertile ; a memory ready and well stored. They have a natural aptness for the sciences, and for both the liberal and the mechanical arts ; and they are of a very martial disposition. They are fond of glory, or of vanity, its false image. Their temper is pliant and supple ; their genius ready and intriguing. They are gallant, mild,

* Malcolm, vol. ii. pp. 628—33.

polished, and well-bred. They are naturally extremely addicted to dissipation, luxury, extravagance, and prodigality; and this is the reason that they understand neither economy nor trade. In a word, they bring into the world, talents as good as those of any other nation, but there are few who make so bad a use of them.

“They are quite philosophers as to the enjoyments or evils of this life, the hopes and fears relating to futurity: little given to avarice, they desire to gain, only that they may spend. They like to enjoy the present, and they reject no gratification within their reach, having no solicitude about the future, which they leave to Providence and fate.

“What is most praiseworthy in their manners, is their humanity to strangers, the welcome and protection which they give them, their hospitality to all the world, and their toleration of religions which they deem false and even abominable. If you except the ecclesiastics of the country, who are, as elsewhere, and perhaps more than elsewhere, full of hatred and fury against those who do not hold their sentiments, you will find the Persians very humane and just on the point of religion.....They believe that the prayers of all men are good and efficacious; and in time of sickness or exigency, they accept, and even seek for, the devotions of persons of a different religion; of which I have witnessed a thousand instances. I do not attribute this to the principle of their religion, (although that tolerates every kind of religious worship,) but to the mild manners of this people, who are naturally opposed to controversy and cruelty.

“The Persians being thus luxurious and prodigal, it will readily be believed, that they are also very indolent; for these things generally go together.

They hate labour, and this is one of the commonest causes of their poverty.....They never fight. All their anger evaporates in abuse*.....Two very contrary habits are commonly found united in the Persians; that of incessantly praising God and speaking of his perfections, and that of uttering imprecations and obscene language. Persons of all ranks are infected with this low vice. Their women also indulge in the same filthy terms of abuse; and when these are exhausted, they will call each other atheists, idolaters, Jews, Christians. These are but the minor vices of the Persians. They are, moreover, deceitful, thievish, and the basest and most impudent flatterers in the world. They understand the art perfectly, and while they make use of it with little shame, it is, nevertheless with much art and insinuating address.....They are liars to excess. They will speak, swear, bear witness falsely, on the slightest inducement. They borrow and pay not again; and seldom let slip an opportunity of defrauding; being without sincerity in their services and all kinds of engagements, as well as without honesty in mercantile dealings.....Destitute of real virtue, they endeavour to put on the appearance of it, whether to impose upon themselves, or better to attain the ends of their vain glory, ambition, or voluptuousness. Hypocrisy is their ordinary disguise. Although they may naturally be inclined to humanity, hospitality, mercy, abstraction from the world, and contempt of worldly things, they nevertheless do not fail to affect these virtues for the sake of appearing to have more than they possess. Who-

* Major Scott Waring, on the contrary, says: "The lower orders frequently engage in quarrels, which are often attended with bloodshed. It is surprising how apt the military men are to quarrel; and upon the least provocation, they resort to the sword."

ever has had only a passing view of them, or seen them during a short visit, will be led to form a very favourable opinion of them; but every one who has had any dealings with them, or who enters into their affairs, will find that there is very little solid virtue among them; that they are for the most part “whited sepulchres,” according to the expression of Jesus Christ,—of which I avail myself the more readily, because it is particularly an exact observance of the law that the Persians affect. Such is the character of the mass of the Persian world. There are, however, doubtless, exceptions to this rule of the general depravity; for there are to be found among the Persians, justice, sincerity, virtue, and piety, as well as among the professors of what we regard as better religions. But the more intercourse one has with this people, the more one finds the exceptions to be extremely limited, and that there are few Persians entitled to the praise of real, intrinsic justice and humanity.” *

Jonas Hanway, who travelled in Persia in the years 1743—50, thus sums up his observations on the Persians.

“The modern Persians are robust, warlike, and hardy, and are now all become soldiers. Were their government once established, no nation could sooner recover itself from such miserable circumstances. They have money enough; † their houses are easily rebuilt; and their land is fertile. These advantages would bring in foreigners, at least Tatars and Indians,

* *Voyages de M. le Chev. Chardin*, tom. ii. ch. xi. This description of the Persians hardly entitles Chardin to be styled, as he is by M. Malte Brun, “their best apologist.”

† Speaking of the time subsequent to the death of Nadir Shah.

and, with them, the conveniences of life, and at length restore their arts and manufactures. They are naturally inclined to temperance, and, with regard to diet, seem to be more in a state of nature than the Europeans. By way of amusement, they use opiates, but not near so much as the Turks; they drink coffee in small quantities with the lees; also sherbets, and an infusion of cinnamon with sugar. Their simplicity of life generally renders their domestic expenses easy;—though, in this last particular, travellers do not agree. I grant, however, that the Persians understand very little of what we call prudence and economical government.

“The Persians are polite, but extravagantly hyperbolic in their compliments; this is, indeed, peculiar to the eastern nations. The Persians were celebrated for a particular genius for poetry; but *war*, which *has destroyed their morals and learning*, seems also to have damped their poetic fire; though they have still many traces of that fertility and strength of imagination for which, in past times, they were deservedly famous. The ancient Persians are recorded to have taught their children a most exact reverence for truth; but the present generation are as notorious for falsehood; they poison with a sweet-meat, in always saying what is pleasing, without regarding the truth. In their disposition, they are cheerful, but rather inclined to seriousness than to loud mirth: in this, they are not so much the French of Asia, as in their politeness and civility to strangers. Hospitality is a part of their religion: on occasions of the least intercourse, men of any distinction invite strangers, as well as their friends, to their table. I did not observe that they are vindictive; yet, if their kindness to their best friend

happens to be turned by any fortune of war into enmity, they often become insensible: this seems to be more owing to a custom of cruelty, than a revengeful temper. On the other hand, there are not many instances of the placable disposition which the Christian religion so strongly recommends. In theory, however, they are friends to this virtue, and they apparently exceed the Christians in the duty of resignation." *

"It must be confessed," says Major Scott Waring, "that the Persians are pleasing and entertaining companions; but not the least reliance is to be placed on their words or most solemn protestations. You should always, therefore, be on your guard against their insidious offers; and to be so, it is necessary to distrust all their declarations. The manners of the Persians are formed, in a great degree, on the principles of Lord Chesterfield: they conceive it their duty to please; and, to effect this, they forget all sentiments of honour and good faith. They are excellent companions, but detestable characters.....The generality of Persians are sunk in the lowest state of profligacy and infamy; and they seldom hesitate alluding to crimes which are abhorred and detested in every civilized country. Custom has doubtless made many of their vices appear to them in the light of foibles; but the sanction of custom will not soften the darker shades of the Persian character. The same argument

* Hanway's Hist. Acc. vol. i. ch. 50. In his second volume, (p. 443.) he remarks, in extenuation of the suspicious turn which Nadir Shah took, that "the Persians are as gentle, soft, and persuasive in their manners, as they are full of cunning and deceit. They are polite, and affect condescension to strangers or guests; but, where they have any power or authority, their deportment is haughty and insolent. To this we may add a strong propensity to rebellion,"

cannot be advanced for them, which has been urged in favour of the Greeks, for they have laws which stigmatise the crimes they commit." *

Equally unfavourable is the picture of the national character drawn by Mr. Fraser. " Its prominent features," he says, " are, certainly, falsehood and treachery in all their shapes, cunning and versatility, selfishness, avarice, and cowardice.† There is no deceit, degradation, or crime to which they will not stoop for gain; and their habits of falsehood are so inveterate, that untruths flow, as it were, spontaneously from their tongue, even where no apparent motive exists. To those who have never had the means of inquiring into this subject, or of viewing man under circumstances so pernicious to his moral and intellectual nature, the character here given may appear overcharged, dictated, perhaps, by disgust or spleen; but let the facts and anecdotes recorded by Herbert, Charadin, Hanway, and others, be examined, and then let it be judged whether the picture be just or otherwise. Exceptions are doubtless to be met with; and, for the honour of human nature, let us hope they are numerous. Under a more auspicious system, the Persians, without question, would be a very different and far more estimable people; but the traveller must relate things

* Waring's Tour to Sheeraz, pp. 103, 4.

† These assertions assuredly require to be greatly qualified. Avarice is not characteristically a Persian vice. Major Scott Waring says: " The name of *Sheerazce* stamps some degree of credit on the possessor, while that of *Isfuhanee* is expressive of deceit, cunning, and fraud; and this seems to be the common and established opinion." This coincides with Sir John Malcolm's statement respecting the remarkable difference of character ascribed to the inhabitants of the principal cities. The citizens of Aleppo and Damascus are in like manner proverbially distinguished, the former by their foppishness, the latter by their falsehood.—See *Syria*, &c., vol. ii. p. 43.

as he sees them; and under the present regime, a different result could hardly be contemplated.

“ With the national character, the condition of society has been equally deteriorated and disturbed. The best relations of life are quite dissolved. There exist none of those venerable customs and sympathies of attachment which bind men together, and keep each rank in its proper sphere. All order seems on the point of suspension, and a disposition to anarchy obtains, which certainly would end in some revolution, were it not for certain counterpoises connected with the religion and peculiar political situation of the country, that tend to preserve things as they are, and to resist every natural effort at improvement. The insecurity of life, limb, or property, even for a single day, produces corresponding mistrust among individuals. Each lives but for himself and for the hour; man fears man; the servant distrusts his master; the master, his servant: mutual necessity may keep them together while there is no inducement to separate, but the slightest prospect of increased advantage, would dissolve the strongest ties. This jealousy penetrates and destroys, what to man should be his most sacred blessing, the circle of his family. The sweet domestic charities are scared away by suspicion and terror. The father and son dread, and often hate each other. Even the wife, uncertain of her husband's life, and of her children's affection, feels a separate and selfish interest, and grasps what she can secure and secrete of his property, to provide for the evil day. The worst is, that there is no national prospect of amelioration, no point from which to look forward to a happier state of society; for there is no hope of any change in the system of government.

“ It has often been said, that the Persians are the

politest people in the East. I should be loath to question their pretensions to this distinction ; but I never have been able to discover good grounds for them. If, by politeness, be merely understood a courteous manner to superiors and equals, a ready application of complimentary terms in conversation, and a strict adherence to forms and ceremonies, the Persians may lay some claim to that accomplishment. But, if by this term be implied, that urbanity and easy affability not only towards each other, but towards strangers of all conditions, which puts them at ease at once, which flows from goodness of heart, and smooths the rougher paths of life, which prompts a continued exercise of kind attentions towards friends, of good-natured and disinterested offices towards indifferent persons, of forbearance from needless offence towards inferiors and even enemies ; in short, a want of selfishness, and a considerate feeling towards all men ;—if, by politeness, any thing like this be understood, the Persians, of whatever rank in life, possess it in a small degree. A certain measure of urbanity will doubtless be found among the higher ranks of every civilised nation ; but I believe that the greatest proportion of Asiatic gentlemen, of whatever country, will be found equally polite with those of Persia. Those of Hindostan, who yet remain, are so, I am sure ; and such Arab chiefs as I have seen, are not less so, although their manners are somewhat different ; and the Turks are not destitute of an austere civility. I believe that, in truth, the Persian owes his character for politeness more to the nature and phraseology of his language, than to any other source : it is even more replete with hyperbole and metaphor than other Eastern tongues ; and the common forms of conversation, if taken literally, would be little better than

senseless bombast. The least a Persian says when he receives you, is, that he is your slave ; that his house and all it contains, nay, the town and country, are all yours, to dispose of at your pleasure. Every thing you accidentally notice, his *calleoons*, his horse, equipage, clothes, are all *Peshcush-e-Sahib*, a present for your acceptance ; but no one considers this, or any thing of the sort, as one bit more sincere than ‘your most obedient servant,’ at the bottom of an English letter.* Nor is this flood of language used indiscriminately to all ; it is like their holiday dress, put on only to appear before those whom they respect and fear. Let the relative situations be changed, and the truth will appear. Then, the slight salutation, the loud authoritative voice, and the little-measured or even gross observations, will convince the stranger how little the former consideration which he enjoyed was sincere or genuine in its nature. I speak from experience ; for I have been in both situations.

“ If it be meant, that the lower, as well as the higher classes of the Persians are polite, I do not think the observation at all more just. Something of the charm of his language will tinge the conversation of the lowest groom ; and you will see him as punctilious in the observance of ceremonies with his friend, as the khan, his master. But, follow him one step further into the common course of life, and you will find him not at all superior to the peasant of other countries : in fact, some of the lower orders, as camel-drivers, muleteers, grooms, &c., exceed, if possible, in brutality of action and language, the corresponding orders of all other countries, with which I am ac-

* Not very dissimilar are the forms of Castilian breeding ; and these remarks must be considered as criticisms upon conventional idioms, rather than upon character.

quainted. The Persians are certainly lighter hearted, better humoured, and less grave or austere than most other Asiatics. They are more easily moved to gayety, and have more lively imaginations than the Arabs, Turks, or Indians, the Affghauns, and Tatars; and from this lively and careless disposition, they have not inaptly been termed the *French* of Asia. But, if the comparison is meant to imply a similitude in politeness and manners to that refined nation of Europe, I cannot acquiesce in its justice.

“Of a like empty and unreal description may be considered the claim which the Persians assert to the character of a hospitable people: it seems to rest chiefly on the boast they make of considering every stranger as a guest of the State, while he remains within its boundaries. This is confined to strangers of rank and distinction; and in many instances, the duties of a host are very poorly discharged. The same is generally found to be the case, when a private person receives a guest. What it may be among one another, I cannot so well declare, although I have reason to believe that no great disposition to reciprocity of such offices exists among them; but certainly, when their guest is not of a rank from which they can hope for either much credit or profit, their hospitality is sufficiently cold and narrow. Of this I can speak from experience; and although exceptions will appear, I have little reason to eulogize Persian hospitality.

“It is a common remark, that the Persians are less bigoted and more liberal in matters that regard religion, than their neighbours; the Turks and the Arabians for instance; but I cannot say that this accords with my own observation. The Persians, being a lighter, more lively people than their neigh-

bours, afford more numerous and more public instances of neglect in their religious observances. Many of them will converse with greater ease and less austerity on such subjects; and perhaps, from the nature of their character, they do not so uniformly or so systematically affix a bloody seal to their abhorrence of real or supposed pollutions of their sacred places....In all other matters, they are as deeply prejudiced as either Arabs or Turks; in some, they are even more so. If an Arab or a Turk admits a Christian as his guest, he will eat with him from the same dish, and makes no distinction between him and a Mahomedan. A Persian will admit the Christian to his house, but takes care to separate his establishment from the rest of the house: if his guest should eat with him, a separate tray is provided, and all contact avoided as much as possible. Jews and Christians are not generally admitted, in Persia, into the public baths. Even when European gentlemen go to these, it is usual to give notice, in order that they may be made private; and this is tolerated, more because Government find it their interest to be civil to them, than as a right. Were a European to travel without a *mehmandar*, and in humble guise, out of the common tract, he would find strong objections made to his frequenting the Mahomedan baths. It is death to a Christian or a Jew, to enter any of the principal mosques or places of holy pilgrimage in Persia, as it is in Turkey. None, of these religions, except Europeans, ever dream of attempting such a thing; and even when the high respect in which European gentlemen are held, joined to the liberal reward they are ever too ready to offer, induces them to waive this prejudice in their favour, they are only admitted in disguise, or, at all events, in secret. A poor Arme-

nian, or Jew, would as certainly be put to death, were he found within the sepulchre of Imaum Reza, or Fatima, or the great mosque at Sheeraz, as in the mosques of Constantinople or Damascus.”*

Mr. Fraser travelled in Khorasan and other parts of Persia rarely visited by Europeans, where the national character would naturally appear to a foreigner under the greatest disadvantages. Disgust at the inhospitable treatment which he received, may have given, unconsciously, a darker tinge to the general complexion of his observations. Indeed, he bears honourable testimony to the simplicity of character and disinterested kindness of certain individuals with whom he had intercourse,† and who, whether regarded as mere exceptions, or as average specimens of the native character of the Persians, ought to protect their countrymen from indiscriminate reprobation. Ignorance, bigotry, meanness, and dishonesty are qualities by no means peculiar to Asiatic society; and they must, therefore, be left out of our account in fixing upon the national characteristics. In these respects, Turk differs from Turk, and Persian from Persian, quite as widely as either nation from those of Europe.

Independently, however, of these individual differences, and the varieties of character distinguishing the several castes and classes of society, the military, the moollahs, the citizens, the peasantry, and the *celliauts*,—there would seem to exist a very remarkable distinction of character among the natives of the several provinces, which must be referred to a physical origin. This has been greatly overlooked; and yet, it is evi-

* Fraser's Khorasan, pp. 174—183.

† Fraser's Caspian Provinces, p. 279.

dent, that no estimate of the national character can be correct, which confounds the dark olive race of Southern Persia with those whose fair and florid complexion and sanguine temperament bespeak them to be of Median or Scythian descent. In the natives of Fars, Laristan, and Kerman, notwithstanding, perhaps, a mixture of Arab blood, there appears to be still observable a considerable affinity to the Hindoos.* In fact, under the name of Parsees, this same race still maintains its distinctive character, as well as its genuine name and ancient creed, in British India. This is the nation to which Persia has been chiefly indebted for her literature and civilization, but which seems to have been at all times, with few exceptions, the subject race. It has produced, at rare intervals, its worthies and heroes, and may, perhaps, boast of its Jemsheed, its Roostum, and its Cyrus, as well as, in later times, its Kurreem Khan and Lootf Ali; but no dynasty of this race has ever lasted through many generations. From the earliest times, Persia has received her monarchs from either Assyria, Touran, or Arabia; and since the Mohammedan conquest, there has never been a king of the native race. The present reigning family are of Turkish or Anatolian origin;†

* “To the philologist, it may be a matter of some interest to be informed, that it was in Koordistan I found my Hindoostanee of the greatest use; one half or three fourths of the proper names of things, in particular, being very similar in both dialects. That they are derived from the same root, is beyond a doubt, and that the ear of the traveller is often assisted by the presence of the object that is named, may equally be allowed; the fact, however, still remains the same; and without any direct intercourse, or immediate connexion of origin or history that we are positively acquainted with, the Koordish is to the full as similar to the Hindoostanee as the Persian has generally been esteemed.”—HEUDE’S *Voyage up the Persian Gulf, &c.*, Pref., p. vii.

† The Kujurs are one of the seven Turkish tribes, called *Kucel-*

and the Turkish, Turcoman, or Tatar tribes, who have at different periods accompanied conquerors from beyond the Oxus, from the banks of the Volga, and from the plains of Syria, must have given their character to a large portion of the population. A very large mixture of Circassian blood flows also in the veins of the modern Persians. The level country between the mountains and the Persian Gulf, is entirely occupied by Arab tribes, who have from the earliest ages possessed a superiority over the Persians at sea, and are still distinguished by their maritime habits from the horsemen of Elam and Fars. In Khorasan, Khoords, Turkomans, and Affghans, compose a motley population.

M. Malte Brun, on the authority of the manuscript journals of several French Travellers, gives the following Table of the various nations now inhabiting Persia.

I. LIVING IN FIXED DWELLINGS.

1. Modern Persians, "comprising a mixture of ancient Persians, Tatars, Arabians, and Georgians"	at most 10,000,000
2. Parsees or Guebres (at Yezd, in Kerman, and in Mekran)	100,000
3. Affghans of Caubul	500,000
4. Ghelaky, or ancient inhabitants of Ghilan ..	50,000
5. Armenians (in Armenia and Adjerbijan) ..	70,000

Carried forward..... 10,720,000

bash, whose swords were consecrated to the defence of the Sheah faith. Mr. Waring says: "Qajar is the way it is spelt, Qujur the way it is pronounced." "The Qajjars," he remarks in another place (p. 57), "preside over fashion; and every thing which is supposed to be neat or elegant, is called *Qujuree*, or à la Qajjar;" whereas, during the reign of Kurreem Khan, "the Qajjars" were in general disrepute. Malte Brun writes the word Katchar and Kadjar; others, Cadjar and Kajer. Such are the endless variations of Oriental orthography. The word is said to signify fugitive; the very meaning ascribed to the ancient appellation Parthian.

Brought over.....	10,720,000
6. Jews	35,000
7. Zabians (in Khoozistan)	10,000

II. NOMADE TRIBES.

1. Tribes speaking the Turkish language	
<i>a</i> The Affshars (chiefly in Adjerbijan)	88,000
<i>b</i> The Kajars (in Mazanderan)	40,000
<i>c</i> The Mukaddem (near Maragha) ..	5,000
<i>d</i> The Dombeloo (in Armenia)	12,000
<i>e</i> The Turkomans (in Adjerbijan, and near Hamadan and Kazeroon)....	12,000
<i>f</i> The Talish (in Mazanderan and Ghilan)	15,000
<i>g</i> The Karagheusli (near Hamadan) ..	12,000
<i>h</i> The Bejat (in Adjerbijan, Fars, and Khorasan)	20,000
<i>i</i> The Shasevend (near Ardebil and Rhe)	14,000
<i>k</i> The Djisvanshir (in Sherwan)	7,000
<i>l</i> The Djelair (in Khorasan)	
<i>m</i> The Fars Modanloo (in Fars)	10,000
<i>n</i> The Kodjavend (in Ghilan and Ma- zanderan)	4,500
Twenty-eight less considerable tribes.....say	81,000
	<hr/>
	320,500
2. Tribes of the Arabic language.	
(1) Arab shepherds introduced by Tamerlane: The Ahwaz in Khoozistan, and other tribes in Kerman and Khorasan, about	95,000
(2) Arab fishermen on the coast of Khoozis- tan and Fars	say 10,000
3. Tribes of the Loorish language.	
<i>a</i> The Zend (near Isfahan and in the north of Fars)	12,000
<i>b</i> The Lekes (in Farsistan).....	20,000
<i>c</i> The Khogiloo (the same)	15,000
<i>d</i> The Zingueneh (near Kermanshah)	6,000
<i>e</i> The Feili (in Looristan)	40,000
<i>f</i> The Bactyari (in Looristan)	30,000
<i>g</i> The Kercoos (near Khamsé)	9,000
<i>h</i> The Kara Zenjiri (near Kermanshah)	7,000
	<hr/>
	139,000
Carried forward.....	<hr/>
	11,329,500

		Brought over.....	11,329,500
4. Tribes of the Koordish language.			
(1) In Koordistan.....			
Subject to the Waly or Val- hi) or Persian Governor.	a	The Mekris (said to be able to muster 3000 horse).....	115,000
	b	The Bilbas (able to raise 15,000 men)	
	c	The Giafs (4 or 5000 families)	
	d	The Goorars (near Senneh)	32,500
	e	The Baras (1000 familes)	
	f	The Sunsur (1200 families)	
	g	The Leks (1000 families)	
	h	The Kotchanloos (10,000 persons)	
i		The Shagaghis (in Adjerbijan, a peaceful, agricultural tribe).....	15,000
(2) Out of Koordistan.			
a		The Reshevend (in Taroon)	10,000
b		The Pazequi (between Rey and Tehraun).....	3,000
c		The Zafferanloo (in Khorasan)	10,000
d		The Boinoord (in Khorasan)	8,000
e		The Modenloo (in Mazanderan)....	4,000
f		The Erdelani (in Khoozistan) ..	10,000
g		The Embarloo, &c.	
5 Tribes of the Patan language.			207,000
Belooches and Affghan tribessay.....			3,500
			<hr/> 11,540,000

This table we give as we find it, except that we have ventured to fill up, conjecturally, a few of the blanks in the supposed numbers of the various tribes, for the purpose of exhibiting the total estimate. There is reason to believe, however, that the fixed population is greatly overrated, even if we make allowance for those districts which have since been alienated from the Persian empire. Some other tribes are also referred to as existing within the limits of Persia, of whom little or nothing is known.* All these wan-

* "The Paddars, the Hassarais, and other tribes little known, wander along the banks of the Araxes." M. Malte Brun mentions also the Kishlaks in Koordistan and the Seides in Adjerbijan. By

dering hordes receive the common appellation of Eleauts or Eeliâts, (tribes); and they form the strength of the Persian armies. The dialect spoken by the Loorish tribes is said sufficiently to resemble the Koordish language, to be sometimes confounded with it; and Sir John Malcolm states, that, although there is a considerable difference in the dialects spoken by the various tribes who inhabit Kourdistan, Irak, Fars, and Kerman, it is not so great as to prevent the inhabitants of one province from understanding that of another. All these tribes also have similar customs; their system of internal government is nearly the same; and they alike profess the Mohammedan religion.* Further details will be given, upon the testimony of recent writers, in our topographical description. It is evident, however, that our knowledge of the pastoral tribes is at present extremely imperfect;

the latter, the *Syuds* are probably meant; an appellation not peculiar to any tribe, but marking a claim to descent from the family of Mohammed. Among the most remarkable of the independent tribes of Kourdistan, Sir John Malcolm says, is "a branch of the tribe of Hâkâry, who dwell in that lofty ridge of hills which lies west of the Lake of Oormia, and approaches the town of Sâlmâs in Adjerbijan."

* Malcolm, vol. ii. pp. 119, 457. "There cannot," says this Writer, "be a stronger proof of their coming from one stock, than that the languages which they speak, are all rude dialects of the Pehlivi." Malte Brun remarks, that, "as Hadji Khalfah maintains that three languages are spoken in Farsistan, the Parsee, the Arabic, and the Pehlivi, we may with considerable probability infer, that the Loorish language, the only dialect now known in Fars, besides the Arabic and the Parsee, is the Pehlivi, or at least a dialect of that ancient language." "The Pehlivi, or Pehloowan dialect, that is to say, the idiom of the warriors or heroes, seems to have prevailed in Irak Adjem.... It is mixed with many Chaldee and Syriac words, but is not a mere dialect of the Chaldee, as Sir William Jones seems to think.... The Koord is, like the Pehlivi, a mixture of Persian and Chaldee."—MALTE BRUN, vol. ij. b. 33. Its affinity to the Hindostanee has already been noticed.

and the preceding table will be found valuable, chiefly as directing the inquiries of future travellers.

Upon the whole, we may conclude, that the true Persian is sufficiently distinguishable from the Arab, the Gentoo, or the Turk, although, as an Asiatic, the subject of a despotic government, and a Moslem, he must have much in common with all. From the Turk, he is distinguished by his versatility and pliancy, his vivacious temperament and lively imagination, his love of hyperbole and display, and his consequent proneness to exaggeration and falsehood. Instead of terming him an Asiatic Frenchman, we might, perhaps, call him with more propriety an Asiatic Greek. The "pliability" which the Persians discover "in adopting the manners of thought and action of other people, justifies an opinion," Mr. Morier remarks, "that, if they had enjoyed all those advantages of situation and converse with Europeans which the Turks possess, they would have been far more than their equals in all the arts of peace and war, and would have had, in consequence, a much larger influence on the politics of Europe."* From the Arab, the Persian is distinguished by his superior civilization and looser morals, his effeminacy and his licentiousness; and not less from the Hindoo, in his complexion and physical temperament, and his inferior docility. We believe that most travellers who are conversant with the different nations, would prefer to

* Morier's Second Journey, p. 23. In a subsequent page, after adducing some instances in point, the Author observes, that "if it were ever the policy of any of the European nations to give a further impulse to the eagerness with which they have already begun to acquire some of our arts, it is not to be doubted that the whole of Persia would soon exhibit a very different aspect from what it does at present, and that from this commencement, their darkness in religion would perhaps be gradually dispelled."—p. 227.

trust an Arab, to deal with a Turk, to converse with a Persian, and to be served by a Hindoo.

Our limits will not allow us to enter much at large into the state of religion in Persia. Every where in the East, the religion of Mohammed is on the decline. The attachment to it partakes more of political, than of religious feeling; and in Persia more especially, a free-thinking and irreligious spirit reigns to a great extent. Sooffeism, under various modifications, has long been gaining ground; and the interested zeal of the moollahs alone maintains the falling religion of the Arabian impostor. This has always, in Persia, been more or less mixed with mystical or idolatrous corruptions. The radical difference between the Sheah and the Soonee creeds has already been adverted to: it consists mainly and ostensibly in this; that, whereas the latter recognise the first three khalifs, Aboubeker, Omar, and Osman, as the legitimate successors of their prophet, the former consider them as illegal and impious usurpers of the divine and indefeasible right of Ali, who, they contend, ought immediately to have succeeded his father-in-law as the Head of Islam. Moreover, the true ecclesiastical succession, they conceive to have been inherent in the family of Mohammed; they consequently reject and condemn the *Souna* or oral traditions which rest upon the authority of the four great imaums, or high priests, Haneefa, Malik, Shaffei, and Hanbal, "the four pillars of the Soonee faith," restricting the sacred title of imaum to the twelve immediate descendants of Mohammed. The last of these, the Imaum Mehdee, is supposed by them to be not dead, but only concealed; and he is expected to appear near the last day, when Jesus is to descend from heaven, and all the world is to receive the faith of Mohammed. Among the

Soonees, on the contrary, it is a dogma, that there must always be a visible imaum, or "father of the Church." It was for a long time held indispensable, that he should be of the Arabian tribe of Koreish, to which the family of Mohammed belonged; till, the right of succession, yielding to the law of conquest, was formally renounced by Mohammed XII., the last khalif of the house of Abbas, in favour of Selim I., the Emperor of Constantinople.

"The difference which exists on these points between the Soonee and the Sheah sects," says Sir John Malcolm, "is at once rancorous and irreconcilable. It is one in which the passions are easily arrayed; for it relates to no speculative or abstruse points of faith that are difficult to be comprehended, but is interwoven with the history of their general religion. Names which are never mentioned but with blessings by one sect, are hourly cursed by the other. The hypocrisy, ingratitude, and disobedience of the first three khalifs, are the essential dogmas of the Sheah doctrine; while the leading principle of the Soonees, is, that, next to the prophet, these rulers were, beyond all others, the most entitled to the regard and veneration of posterity. The differences in their mode of worship and customs are slight, and have wholly arisen out of the hate they bear each other, and their dislike to have any usage in common. These consist in the mode of holding the hands, of the mode of prostration, and other forms equally immaterial." The Soonees are accused, moreover, of making the tops of graves convex, instead of flat, (the shape ordered by tradition,) for no reason but opposition to the Sheahs. The Persian writers endeavour to give further importance, however, to these differences, by defaming the imaums of the Soonees, ascribing to them every

doctrine which has been propagated by the most absurd or visionary of their followers.* Both sects have their respective traditions, written and unwritten, to which they appeal, as the Jews to the Talmud, and the Papists to the Church, for the authorized interpretation of the Koran. But the Sheahs ascribe to their Imaums, not merely infallibility, but impeccability.† “Our belief,” they say, “in the prophets, apostles, imaums, and angels, is, that they are pure and holy; that they commit no sin, either great or small.” Abraham is said to have been “nothing more than a prophet, till God made him an imaum!” In many respects, it has been remarked, there is a striking correspondence between the Sheah system and that of the Romanists. “Both,” remarks Professor Lee, “have their *pontifex maximus*; both, their traditions. Both have their queen

* “As to the interpretations of Mocátib, Zamakhshari, and the like,” says the learned Sheah opponent of Henry Martyn, Mohammed Ruza of Hamadan, “we say, that they are not in conformity with the true religion, as professed by the Sheah, the followers of the Twelve Imaums, who have received the true interpretation of the Koran by tradition from the descendants of Mohammed himself, all of whom had the power of working miracles. . . But the true interpretations of the Koran are those which are conformable with the explications of the Sheah, who have received their comments by *regular, well-attested, and uninterrupted traditions*, either from the Prophet himself or his immediate successors,—by the intervention of just and faithful narrators.”—LEE’S *Persian Controversies*, p. 355.

† “Now the belief of the Sheah is this, that every one of the prophets was, from the day of his birth to that of his death, wholly free from sin; that they were never implicated in either infidelity or error; and that both their fathers and grandfathers were likewise free from those sins. Of this kind, there are many passages revealed in the Koran, all tending to establish the truth, as consistent with the nature of things and the deductions of sound reason . . . Purity (in a prophet) is nothing more than that grace and favour which we have shewn it is incumbent on the Deity to afford.”—LEE’S *Persian Controversies*, p. 358.

of heaven ;” for Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed, occupies much the same rank in the Sheah creed, that the Virgin does in the Romish Church. “ The saints of both communions can work miracles. Both have their pilgrimages, their purgatory, their relics, their hermits. The principal thing in which they differ, is, that the Sheah reject the use of images.” Further, both deny that their respective sacred books can be understood by the common people. A learned champion of the Sheah faith contends, indeed, in his reply to the lamented Henry Martyn, that “ the number of the expressions of the Koran which may be fully understood by human investigation, is very small.” “ The far greater part,” it is added, “ can be fully comprehended by none except the Prophet himself or the descendants of his house.” Once more: both the Romish Church and the Persian Church have their mystics and their schoolmen; for the Sooffees unite in themselves both characters. Of these, there are various sects, ranging from pure metaphysical deism, or pantheism, to the wildest fanaticism; and although they are said to agree in their principal tenets, their mode of stating and illustrating their favourite doctrine varies considerably. “ It would be vain,” remarks Sir John Malcolm, “ to attempt to give a full history of the Sooffee doctrine; traces of which exist, in some shape or other, in every region of the world. It is to be found in the most splendid theories of the ancient schools of Greece, and in those of the modern philosophers of Europe. It is the dream of the most ignorant and of the most learned; and is seen at one time indulging in the shades of ease, and, at another, traversing the pathless desert.” Authors, he proceeds to state, are divided as to whether there are two, or seven, of what can be deemed original sects among the

Souffees ; but a very learned moollah, the late *moosh-táhed* (high-priest) of Kermanshah, “whose hostile bigotry made him direct all his ability to explain and confute their doctrines,” gives it as his opinion, that the only two original sects are, the *Hulooleáh*, or the inspired, and the *Itáhedeáh*, or the unionists. The other five sects which have been supposed to be original, are, he says, mere derivatives from these two : they style themselves the *Wásáleáh*, or the joined ; the *Ashakeáh*, or the lovers ; the *Tulkeeneáh*, or the penetrating ; and the *Wáhdatteáh*, or the solitudinarians. As Sir John Malcolm’s history may not be accessible to the majority of our readers, we shall transcribe from his pages the account which he gives, on the above-mentioned authority, of the distinguishing tenets of these various sects.

“The principle maintained by the *Hulooleáh*, or the inspired, is, that God has entered or descended into them ; and that the Divine Spirit enters into all who are devout, and have an intelligent mind. The *Itáhedeáh*, or unionists, believe that God is one with every enlightened being. They compare the Almighty to a flame, and their souls to charcoal ; and they say, that, in the same manner that charcoal, when it meets flame, becomes flame, their immortal part, from its union with God, becomes God. It has, the learned Author states, been affirmed, that these two sects, which are now deemed original, are derived from a sect called *Hermâneáh*, who borrowed their tenets from the *Sábbetteáh*, or ancient Sabians. ‘Impious men,’ he observes, ‘desiring to conceal from themselves the great error into which they had fallen, have tried to connect the doctrines of these sects with that of the twelve holy Imaums, to which they have not the slightest affinity ; but,’ he adds, ‘the principal

tenets of the Hulooleâh certainly approach the creed of the Nazarenes, who believe that the Spirit of God entered into the womb of the Virgin Mary; and thence the doctrine of the divine nature of their prophet, Jesus.'

"The *Wahdatteâh*, or the solitudinarians, whom this Author terms a branch of the *Itâhedeâh*, are considered by many other writers as one of the original sects of Sooffees. They believe, that God is in every thing, and that every thing is God. This class of Sooffees are deemed followers of the ancient philosophers of Greece, particularly of Plato, who, they assert, has said, 'That the God of the world has created all things with his own breath; and every thing, therefore, is both the Creator and the created.' The tenets of the *Wâhdatteâh* are very prevalent among modern Sooffees; and many sects deem themselves branches of this stock. The Author hitherto followed, enumerates twenty sects that follow the *Wâhdatteâh*, each of whom has some difference in the subordinate parts of their belief and their usages. Among the most remarkable of these are the *Dheri*, or 'eternals,' who believe the world is uncreated and indissoluble; and conceive that man is taught his duty by a mysterious order of priesthood, whose numbers and ranks are fixed, and who rise in gradation from the lowest paths to the sublimest height of divine knowledge.....The twentieth and last branch of *Wâhdatteâh* is denominated *Jumkhooreâh*, which means, 'the collected;' a name that has been given them from their belief in the collected creeds of all the other sects of Sooffees. Their leading doctrine is, that nothing which exists should be rejected, for all things contain a portion of the Divinity. They are accused of being complete optimists: every thing is good with them; religion

and infidelity, the lawful and the unlawful. ‘Like the Nazarenes,’ the author who gives this account observes, ‘they deem hogs and dogs clean animals; and, like them, admit that females may go about unveiled. The greater part of the modern Sooffees,’ he affirms, ‘belong to this sect; and they dignify their indiscriminate principle of belief and of conduct with the exalted name of divine love.’ ” *

“ The Persian Sooffees, though they have borrowed much of their belief and many of their usages from India, have not adopted, as a means of attaining beatitude, those dreadful austerities which are common among the visionary devotees of the Hindoos. The most celebrated of the teachers of the Sooffee tenets in Persia, have been men as famed for their knowledge as their devotion. In the list of these, modern Sooffees desire to include every name which has obtained a pre-eminence in the history of their country or in the world.† They claim, in fact, all who, by their writings or sayings, have shewn a spirit of philosophy, or a knowledge of the Divine nature which elevated them above the prejudices of the vulgar. But, though this claim cannot be maintained, (as many of the wisest and ablest men of Persia have been remarkable for their attachment to the forms and dogmas of the established worship,) the Sooffees can boast that great numbers, as eminent for their learning as their genius, have adopted their opinions. Among these, the most

* Most of the sub-sects of the *Wâtahdeâh* would seem, from their assumed titles and general description, to be either of a fanatical or a licentious character; and to some of them are ascribed the same abominable tenets and usages that have been attributed to the Ismaelies and Druses of Syria.—See MOD. TRAV., *Syria*, vol. I. pp. 263—273.

† They claim the patriarch Abraham as one of their principal teachers.

distinguished are poets....The *Musnavi* (of Jellal-u-deen), which teaches in the sweetest strains, that all nature abounds with a divine love, that causes even the lowest plant to seek the sublime object of its desire ; the works of the celebrated Jâmi, which breathe in every line the most ecstatic rapture ; the book of moral lessons of the eloquent Sadi ; and the lyric and mystic odes of Hafiz ; may be termed the Scriptures of the Sooffees of Persia. It is to them that they continually refer ; and the gravest writers who have defended their doctrine, take their proofs from the page of these and other poets, whom they deem to have been inspired by their holy theme.

“ It has been truly observed, that the greatest objection to Sooffeism is, that it is in itself no religion : wherever it prevails, it unsettles the existing belief, but it substitutes no other of a defined and intelligible nature. Though it professes to leave the mass of the people in the state in which it found them, it never can. Their minds are taught to consider an attention to all the forms of the religion they follow, as a mere worldly duty, from which they are to be emancipated by an increase of knowledge or of devotion. The Sooffee teacher does not deny the mission of Moham-med ; but, while he instructs his disciples to consider that prophet and his successors as persons who have been used as instruments for preserving the order and good government of the world, he boasts a direct and familiar intercourse with the Deity, and claims, on that ground, their entire confidence and obedience in all that regards their spiritual interests.

“ The progress of Sooffeism has been of late very rapid in Persia. Its tenets were mixed with those of the Sheah sect, when that was established as the national faith by the first of the Suffavean kings ; and

some of the monarchs of that race gloried in professing tenets which they inherited from their pious ancestor Shaikh Hyder, who is deemed one of the most celebrated of the Sooffee teachers in Persia. The orthodox hierarchy have, from the first, made an open and violent war upon this sect ; and, though they have often failed in rousing the bigotry of the sovereign in their defence, they have always succeeded in convincing his judgement that the established religion was necessary to the support of the state....The Sooffees were never actively persecuted before the reign of the last monarch of the Suffavean race, Shah Sultan Hussein, who gave himself into the hands of priests of the orthodox religion, and allowed them to exercise every severity towards all who departed from the forms of established worship. The attempt of Nadir Shah to alter the Sheah faith, and to adopt that of the Soonee as the national religion of Persia, had, no doubt, a serious effect in diminishing the influence of the Mohammedan religion. Kurreem Khan, though reputed a true believer and an observer of the forms of worship, was neither rigid himself nor intolerant of others. During his reign, a celebrated Sooffee teacher, named Meer Maassoom Aly Shah, came from India to Shiraz, where his followers soon amounted to more than thirty thousand persons. The orthodox priests took alarm, and prevailed upon the mild Kurreem to banish the saint from his capital ; but his reputation was increased by the act of power that proclaimed him dangerous.”*

After Kurreem Khan's death, a persecution of the Sooffees took place at the instigation of the priests of Isfahan. The late chief priest of Kermanshah distin-

* “ Malcolm, vol. ii. pp. 383—418.

guished himself also by his endeavours to excite the popular indignation, as well as the jealousy of the government, against this sect; and he had obtained full powers from the reigning monarch, Futteh Aly Shah, to put to death or otherwise punish the offenders.* These violent measures are thought to have increased their numbers, as every Sooffee who has suffered death, is deemed a martyr. They are now estimated at between two and three hundred thousand persons; but this calculation, Sir John Malcolm remarks, must rest upon mere conjecture. The greater proportion of the Sooffees of Persia are not to be distinguished from the other part of the Mohammedan population. They are, in fact, directed, when in the first ranks of this mystic faith, † to conform to the established religion; and, owing to the persecution they have suffered, it has become a tenet among some sects of Sooffees, not to confess their religion.

It is evident, that Sooffeism is a very intangible and Proteus-like system, which can assume the most various and fantastic shapes. Its very essence, Sir John Malcolm tells us, is poetry. Mr. Scott Waring says, that the religion of the Sooffees, as far as he has been able to comprehend it, appears to be a compound

* A copy of the letter is given by Sir John Malcolm. "We have," says the Shah, "in short, ordered that the sect be extirpated and put an end to, in order that the true faith may flourish."

† The first stage of Sooffee perfection is that of humanity, *nâsoot*; the second, that of power or force, *jubroot*, when the candidate enters the pale of Sooffeism, and exchanges practical for spiritual worship. It is in this stage that it ceases to be his duty to observe the outward rites of the established religion. The third stage is that of knowledge, *aruf*, when the disciple is supposed to have attained inspiration or supernatural knowledge. The fourth and last denotes his arrival at truth, *hukeekat*, which implies his union with Deity.

of the philosophy of Plato and that of Berkeley.* The principal Sooffee writers are said to be familiar with the writings of Aristotle and Plato, and their most celebrated works abound in quotations from the latter.† “The life and opinions of Pythagoras,” says the former writer, “if translated into Persian, would be read at this moment as those of a Sooffee saint. The tale of his initiation into the mysteries

* “Some of them,” says Sir John Malcolm, “term the world *alam kheal*, i. e. a world of delusion; by which it is implied, that we are constantly, with regard to all *maddah* (matter), under an illusion of our senses, and that it exists only from the light of God, or the animating principle, which enables us to see it, and makes it visible; otherwise it is in itself nothing.” “Some of them,” he tells us, “deny the existence of evil, because, they say, every thing proceeds from God, and therefore must be good;” and almost all the Sooffees are predestinarians. According to the doctrine of the celebrated Jami, as cited in the *Dabistan*, “Existence, considered as such, is independent of any appendages external or rational,” but exists pure in the Divine Unity, and pervades all matter. Another famous Sooffee doctor states, “that the first and necessary Existence is that which remains unchangeable under all circumstances; and that dependent Existence is nothing more than the forms and modes of being which are subject to change. The production of the world,” it is added, “is nothing more than the manifestation of that light which is peculiar to the Divine nature, exhibited under numerous and various forms. In the books of the Sooffees it is said, that, as beauty receives pleasure from the contemplation of itself, whenever it views itself in a glass; so does the Divine Essence contemplate its own beauty in the appearances and discoveries of things which have been brought about by his own appointments; and beholds in every mirror, that form which it has been calculated to present; and thus, by means of the multiplicity of lights in which he is viewed, presents himself in that various and multiform relation which is visible around us.”—See *LEE’S Persian Contrroversies*, pp. 425—7.

† Sir John Malcolm supposes, that even the appellation Sooffee may have been originally adopted from the Greek *Σοφοί*. Others derive it from the Arabic term *Saaf*, pure, clean; or *Suffa*, purity; or, again, from *Soof*, wool, in allusion to the coarse woollen garments usually worn by its teachers,

of the Divine nature, his deep contemplation and abstraction of mind, his miracles, his passionate love of music, his mode of teaching his disciples, the persecution that he suffered, and the manner of his death, present us nearly an exact parallel to what is related of many of the most eminent of the Sooffee teachers." Under the general name of Sooffeism, however, there can be no doubt that sentiments are often held, far more nearly allied to the Epicurean school, than to that of the Academy. There is a refined mysticism which may be termed the poetry of Sooffeism; and there is, distinct from this, the scholastic or metaphysical theology of the Sooffee schools; but besides this, we recognise a grosser sort of creed, in which, all that is poetical having evaporated, the dregs of a heartless *selfism*, a moslem antinomianism, alone remain. Thus, in the more intellectual and refined, Sooffeism would seem to preserve the negative character of a cold and barren speculation, an opium-dream of the fancy; in the enthusiast, it becomes a wild fanaticism; as professed and taught by the artful fakeer, it is a mere imposing jargon; while, in alliance with vulgarity and grossness, it is the cloak and license of an abandoned libertinism.

The Christians of Persia consist of the Georgians, the Armenians, the Nestorians, the Jacobites, and the Romanists.* With the exception of those of Georgia

* "The Georgians have the Bible in the Georgian language, which was printed at Moscow in 1743; but the language is not so generally cultivated among the higher ranks as the Persian. It probably bears the same relation to the Persian which the Welsh does to the English. The Armenians have a version of the Bible in their own proper tongue, but the copies are few in number. The Nestorian and Jacobite Christians use the Syriac Bible; but it is yet more rare than the Armenian."—BUCHANAN'S *Christian Researches*, p. 276. The Polyglot Persian version of the Gospels appears to have been made from the Syriac.

and Armenia, they are now few in number.* The mountains of Kourdistan have afforded shelter to a small colony of Nestorians, who are supposed to have resided there more than thirteen centuries; and a Roman Catholic mission has long been established at Isfahan, where a remnant of the Armenian colony also still exists; but, with these exceptions, Christianity is almost unknown in Persia, having disappeared, for the most part, with the Greek language, save in the doubtful form in which it was professed by some of the Moghul princes. It was reserved for an English missionary, the lamented Henry Martyn, to proclaim, for the first time, before the *moollahs* of Shiraz, the doctrine of faith in Christ as the Lamb of God, and the Saviour of the world;† and to make the Gospels known in their own tongue to the modern natives of the country.

In the preceding view of the national character, the more prominent physical and moral features have been chiefly dwelt upon: the costume and manners of the people will more properly fall under our notice in the description of the capital and chief cities. In pro-

* Dr. Buchanan represents it to be a low computation, that two hundred thousand Christians speaking the Persian language are ready to receive the Scriptures in their own tongue; but he includes those who speak this language in Hindostan.

† "On reading the passage" (in Mr. Martyn's Persian Version) "where our Saviour is called the 'Lamb of God,' the *moollahs* scorned and ridiculed the simile, as if exulting in the superior designation of Ali, who is called *Sheer Khoda*, the Lion of God. Mirza Baba observed to them: 'The lion is an unclean beast; he preys upon carcases, and you are not allowed to wear his skin, because it is impure; he is destructive, fierce, and man's enemy. The lamb, on the contrary, is in every way *halal* (lawful). You eat its flesh, you wear its skin on your head, it does no harm, and is an animal beloved. Whether is it best, then, to say, the Lamb of God, or, the Lion of God?"—MORIER'S *Second Journey*, p. 225.

ceeding to execute this part of our task, we shall first conduct our readers, by the usual route from Busheer, to Shiraz, and thence, after visiting Persepolis, by way of Isfahan, to the present seat of royalty, Tehraun. Our chief guides in the first part of this route will be, Sir William Ouseley, Mr. Morier, Mr. Waring, and Lieut. Alexander.

PERSIAN GULF.

THE proper entrance of the Persian Gulf may be placed between Cape Bombareek (properly *Mobarek*, happy, fortunate) and Cape Musseldom (a corruption of *Mama Selemeh*, the name of a female saint); * on rounding which, we come to the five small islands called the Quoins, from their resemblance to the quoin of a gun.† On passing this point, it is usual for the native traders (from India), to throw cocoa-nuts and other fruit or flowers into the sea, to secure a propitious voyage. “Sometimes,” says Lieut. Alexander, “they equip a small vessel, and put in it samples of the different articles of which their cargo is composed: this vessel they set adrift, and if it makes toward the land, they infer a favourable termination of their voyage. Some of these miniature barks are occasionally met with many leagues out at sea.” Behind the Quoins, piratical boats used to lie in wait. The rock of which both the cape and the islands are composed, is limestone,‡ bare and arid, the only vegetation being wild sorrel, which is found growing in the clefts of the rocks. Innumerable shoals of fish frequent these

* Cape Musseldom is eighteen leagues westward of Cape Mobarek.

† They are also called *Bunat*, or the Sisters.

‡ “The dip is westerly; the angle of inclination varies exceedingly. In some places, I observed a columnar stratification indicating basalt.”—ALEXANDER, p. 87.

islands. Beyond them is the once famous island of Ormuz, the high peaks of which have the appearance of being covered with snow; they are, in fact, composed of rock salt, with which the surface of the island is for the most part covered, and vast quantities are collected, salt being the only article now exported from the island.* Opposite to Ormuz, is the high land of Gomberoon, where, according to tradition, the Guebres made their final stand against the Moslems. Gomberoon affords a great quantity of brimstone, which is a source of revenue to the Imâm. Fish is found here also in great plenty, and the sea abounds with sea-snakes and *medusæ*.†

The next island is Kishmis, the largest in the Gulf, being sixty miles in length and fifteen in breadth. It is said to be susceptible of cultivation, but is at present almost totally deserted.‡ From the sea, not a blade of vegetation is to be seen on the flat-topped sandy

* “The island is covered with ruins, among which the reservoirs are found, most of them in a state of decay. The only habitable place in Ormus at present is the fort, which is said to have been built by Albuquerque in 1507: it is now in tolerable repair, and still possesses some very large Portuguese cannon. The Imaum of Muscat keeps a garrison here of 120 Nubian slaves and 80 Arabs, to prevent the Joassimi pirates from taking possession of it. One of the inhabitants said, that silver crucifixes are frequently found among the ruins.”—MORIER, vol. ii. p. 405.

† Those seen by Lieutenant Alexander, were all checkered black and yellow, with the dorsal and ventral fins of the common eel. He saw also several sharks, and a large *echineis neucrates*.—See ALEXANDER’S *Travels*, p. 88.

‡ This island, the *Queizome* of the Portuguese, bears also the name of *Djazeeru Duraz*, the Long Island, converted by Niebuhr into *Djer Draz*. “This island,” says Mr. Scott Waring, “is very productive; its grapes are famous, and it is said to contain near 300 villages.” Lieutenant Alexander, on the contrary, states, that no grapes have been produced there within the memory of man. Kishmish is the Persian term for raisin, however, and this favours the supposition that this island was once famed for its vines.

hills ; but in the valleys, a stunted grass affords pasture to hares and antelopes. Beyond this are two small low islands, called the Great and the Little Tomb* (in Persian, *Gumbuz*) ; and on the Persian side is seen Cape Sertes, an arid point, projecting from a still more arid coast. To the N.W. of Kish-mis is Bassadore, a station for cruizers, and the coolest place in the Gulf. Here are found two or three European houses, and a small bazar inhabited by Arabs, amid the remains of an extensive Portuguese city. The tanks, or reservoirs, which supplied the inhabitants with water, are still entire. The ruins of Portuguese forts and factories are every where to be met with to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, along the coasts of Africa, Arabia, Persia, and India ; and excite our astonishment how Portugal could send forth from her limited population, the number of settlers required for her extensive eastern possessions, in addition to those who colonised the Brazils. Opposite to Bassadore are Romps and Ras-el-Kaimar, two notorious piratical stations, which were razed to the ground by the force under Sir William Grant Keir, in 1820. Near them are the celebrated pearl-banks, which run parallel with the Arabian shore from 56° to 48° E. longitude. Opposite to Cape Sertes is the island of Kenn, called by the natives Kais, a low slip of land, about twelve miles from the main, partially covered with trees ; chiefly the date-tree, besides which are found the banian, the tamarind, and the cotton-plant. This island was once in possession of a tribe of independent Arabs, called the *Beni Kaiser*, who carried

* " The Persian words of *Nabjoo* and *Toomb* unfortunately destroy Dr. Vincent's hypothesis relative to these two islands."—
WARING, p. 138.

on a lucrative trade.* It is still inhabited, though much exposed to the attacks of the pirates. At six feet beneath the surface, water is found, and the habitations of the people are supplied with wells. The whole surface of the island appears to have been inundated, large beds of shells being found at a considerable distance from shore. The people say, that gold dust is found in the channels of the torrents. The coast is lined with coral rocks.

In sailing between Kenn and the main, a large town may be seen, situated close to the water's edge, and scarcely distinguishable from the soil. Mr. Morier supposes it to be Siraf. "From the size and style of the buildings," he says, "it must have been a place of the consequence attached to it in the Persian annals. Until it was supplanted by Kais, it was a flourishing commercial town, and much resorted to by foreign merchants, although its territory was unproductive, and its climate extremely sultry. The most conspicuous object that met our eye, was an octagonal tower, surrounded with a high wall, which some took for a fortification, others for a mosque. On a hill commanding the town, we discovered walls and three round towers, and, at some distance beyond, a mausoleum. We saw no mark of vegetation, except the date-tree. Many boats were drawn up on the beach. Higher upon the coast, about fifteen miles, we distinguished the town of Gillem (Illa, Hilu), more

* The history of their fortunes, as related to Mr. Morier by the Persian Ambassador, bears a striking resemblance to that of Whittington and his cat, save that the owner of the mouser was an old woman of Shiraf, the mother of three graceless sons who had abandoned her, but whom she afterwards admitted to share in her wealth. Their descendants became kings of the island. The power of the Beni Kaiser was at length destroyed by one of the Attabeg kings of Fars.—MORIER, vol. ii. p. 31.

agreeable in its appearance than Siraf, though not so large. It is situated opposite to Inderabia (Hindurabee), a small, flat island, barren and uninhabited.”*

At Khararak (Kharug), situated between Cape Sertes and Cape Bustion, is a town which was once in possession of the Danes; and “it is singular,” remarks Mr. Morier, “that the people who claim a Danish blood, are still very fair-complexioned, and have light red hair, which may confirm their traditional accounts of their origin. The same nation had also an establishment in a deep bay near Cape Musseldom, and the fort exists to this day. On Cape Bustion, there is a mine of copper, which was formerly worked by the Portuguese: they built also a fort there, which still exists, but the mine is no longer worked, and indeed is almost forgotten.”†

Beyond this point, where the main land is very high, is a long, low, and narrow island, called Busheab (properly *Khoshaub*, good water), on the easternmost point of which is a neat-looking village, surrounded with date-trees. The channel between the island and the main is from eight to nine miles in breadth; but a coral reef extends four miles W. and N. of the island. To the westward of Busheab are seen several large villages and date groves. Beyond this, the coast of Fars runs out into a promontory called Cape Nabon. Some leagues further, is seen the Barn Hill, a remarkable piece of land, deriving its name from its supposed resemblance to an old thatched building. The whole coast is here very high.‡ Very near this, to the eastward, close under a peak, and in a wood of date-trees, is the town of Congoon, the residence of an Arab

* Morier, vol. ii. p. 34.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 51.

‡ The hills on the Persian side rise in four distinct series of ridges, to the elevation of about 1500 feet.

shiekh, which is resorted to for wood. Just below it is a port, called *Tauhree*, where are extensive ruins and sculptures, with inscriptions in the Persepolitan character: "among the ruins are two wells pierced to a great depth, and stabling for a hundred horses excavated in the solid rock." *

Cape Verdistan (Burdistan) is the next point, from which runs out a shoal, rendered dangerous by a reef of rocks, which extends about six or seven miles from the shore. The coast now presents a most rugged, barren, and inhospitable appearance, with a very bold shore. Two points of land, a little more conspicuous than the surrounding points, have received the appellation of the Asses' Ears. Nearly under these, a small river called Khoresser, falls into the sea, on the banks of which is situated the town of Tangistoun.† Some leagues further is seen Halila peak, a high and remarkable point, which forms a capital land-mark: the proper name of the hill is said to be *Khoormooj*, Halelu being the name of a village on the low ground to the S.E. Beyond this point is discovered the low land on which stands the town of Busheer.‡

Along this coast, sheep, dates, and wheat may be

* Morier, vol. i. p. 51.

† "At the mouth of this river is a small island, formed by the sands brought down, which adapts this situation to Arrian's account of *Heratemis*. At the place marked by Dr. Vincent as *Podargus*, there is now no torrent; but I learn from Dr. Jukes and Mr. Bruce, that at Harem, situated thirty miles inland, on the declivity of the mountains to the eastward, there is a water which finds its way to the sea, and may perhaps accord with the position required."—MORIER, vol. i. p. 52.

‡ We give the following positions from Mr. Morier. Great Tomb island, lat. $26^{\circ} 14' N.$; long. $55^{\circ} 19' 45'' E.$ Cape Seres, $26^{\circ} 32' 15'' N.$; long. $54^{\circ} 42' 45'' E.$ Kenn or Ka's (S.E. point), lat. $26^{\circ} 30' 18'' N.$; long. $53^{\circ} 59' 30'' E.$ Distance between the west end of Kenn and the east end of Inderabia, 12 miles. Anchorage off Bushire, lat. $28^{\circ} 58' 15'' N.$; long. $50^{\circ} 54' 15'' E.$

procured. The produce is "lodged in recesses in the rocks, to escape the hands of the Utoobees, who often land, and destroy or seize whatever they can discover." Small quantities of wheat, rice, barley, dates, and almonds are exported to Muskat, and other ports in the Gulf; but the trade is now inconsiderable.*

BUSHEER.

BUSHEER, properly Abû Shehr, now the principal port of Persia, is situated on the extremity of a low peninsula, formed on one side by the Persian Gulf, and on the other by an inlet terminating in extensive swamps. The whole peninsula, on the point of which it stands, has evidently been gained from the sea; and in the equinoctial spring tides, it resumes its original character as an island. Its first appearance, rising conspicuously from the surrounding flat, is extremely singular, but far from inviting. At a distance, it resembles a city half-built. The houses are either of clay, or of a soft white stone,† with flat roofs; above which are seen, in different parts, rising to the height of from 60 to 100 feet, about nine square turrets or "wind-chimneys," each the mark of a great man's dwelling.‡ On the land side, the town is for-

* Waring, pp. 136, 76.

† The materials of the town, "a soft sandy stone, incrustated with shells," are drawn from the ruins of Reshire, a town four miles to the southward, which, in the time of the Portuguese, was a place of considerable consequence. Many of the adjacent villages, Mr. Morier says, are built of the same stone, the only species found in the peninsula, the soil of which is alluvial,—sand and mud impregnated with saline matter. The appearance of the houses is not much improved by this material.

‡ "This is a square turret, on the sides of which are perpendicular apertures, and in the interior of which are crossed divisions, which form different currents of air, and communicate some com-

tified : towers occur at unequal distances, two of which form the town gate. Little cultivation is seen in its immediate vicinity ; and the only object which breaks upon the uniformity of the white soil, is “ the lank and perpendicular date-tree, tufted at its summit with a little dusty verdure.”* At the distance of forty miles rises to the eastward a lofty range of dark blue mountains.

“ Dreariness, solitude, and heat,” says Mr. Morier, “ are, indeed, the chief characteristics, not only of this town, but of all the shores of the Persian Gulf. Although Bushire is the principal Persian sea-port, yet, there is none of that bustle and movement which indicate the activity of commerce. Instead of crowds of vessels at anchor, with hundreds of boats passing to and fro, the masts of a solitary vessel may here and there be perceived, and perhaps a single boat creeping along with a flapping sail. The whole of its trade is closely connected with that of Bussora, as almost every ship which navigates the Gulf, touches at both places, either to discharge or to receive merchandise ; but it

fort to the heated apartments of the house. But the comfort is not wholly without danger ; as, in an earthquake some years ago, the turrets were thrown down, to the great damage of the surrounding buildings.”—MORIER, vol. i. p. 57.

* “ Whatever may have been the former state of the immediate neighbourhood, it is certain, that there are now no longer to be found the gardens and plantations which Nearchus described, or even those which Captain Simmons delineated. Had Nearchus again described Bushire and its territory in his day, he would have said, that a few cotton-bushes, here and there date-trees, now, and then a *konar*-tree, with water-melons, *berinjauts*, and cucumbers, are the only verdant objects which in any measure alleviate the glare of its sandy plain.”—MORIER, vol. i. p. 58. From the cotton-bushes near Bushire, they fabricate a kind of cloth nearly equal to the China nankeen. Mr. Waring noticed also some castor-oil shrubs, but was informed that, although its medicinal qualities are known, the oil is used only for lamps.

does not employ annually more than eight ships under English colours, and about six under (those of) Muskat, making, on an average, about 4500 tons of shipping. The Persians have no navy either for war or commerce." *

There are supposed to be about 400 houses in the town, besides several alleys of date-tree huts on entering the gates, which may amount to the same number. The inhabitants, however, are calculated at 10,000, which would give more than ten for each house. There are seven mosques, (four belonging to the Sheahs, and three to the Soonies,) two hummums, and two caravanserais. The bazars resemble those of a provincial town in Turkey. The old English factory is a large straggling building in a dilapidated state, near the sea side. The new Residency is nearly two miles from the pier. The streets, as in other Arabian or Persian towns, are narrow, intricate lanes, from six to eight feet wide, displaying on each side, nothing but inhospitable walls, half choked up with filth or sand, and infested by crowds of "mangy dogs." The materials of which the houses are built, are constantly decomposing, adding their dust to the sandy ground-work of the streets, which, when set in motion by the wind or a passing caravan, creates an impenetrable cloud. At times, when "a furious north-wester" sets in, the whole air becomes charged with minute particles of sand, which, entering the houses, cover the dishes, powder the hair, and get into the eyes. But even this plague, Lieut. Alexander says,

* Morier's Second Journey, p. 38. The only man of war ever constructed in Persia was built by Nadir Shah with the timber of Mazanderan, which was transported on the backs of men over the mountains. The wreck of this ship is still to be seen in the harbour of Busheer.

he found less annoying than the innumerable flies and mosquitoes which swarm immediately after sun-rise.

In this climate, a life passed in tents is in general more agreeable than that passed in towns; but even a tented life has here its discomforts. While the British mission was encamped here in 1810, a gale of wind from the south-east levelled three of the largest tents with the ground. This wind continued to blow violently for some days, accompanied by a suffocating heat,* and bringing with it innumerable flights of locusts; while the clouds of dust which it raised, destroyed all comfort or rest. It then suddenly veered round to the N.W., blowing with equal violence. As soon as it subsided, the plain was covered with men, women, and children, who came out to gather the locusts.†

The climate of Busheer is not deemed unhealthy. In the winter, however, storms from the N.W. are very frequent and tremendous, and coughs and colds are pre-

* "We thought it might be the precursor of the *samoun* described by Chardin; but, upon inquiry, we found that the autumn was generally the season for that wind, and that its consequences, in the memory of the present inhabitants, had never been so fatal as those mentioned by that traveller. The *sam* commits great ravages in this district, and is hurtful to vegetation. It blows from about midnight to sunrise, comes in hot blasts, and is afterwards succeeded by a cold one." About six years before, a *sam*, which had occurred during the summer months, so totally burned up the corn, then near its maturity, that no animal would eat a blade of it, or touch any of the grain. Mr. Morier suggests, that this may illustrate 2 Kings xix. 26.

† "Those which fell on this occasion, were not of the predatory sort, which are large and of a deep red: these were three inches long, from the head to the extremity of the wing, and the body and head of a deep yellow. When boiled, the yellow ones turn red, and eat like stale shrimps. Dried and salted, they are sold in the bazars as the food of the lowest people."—MORIER, ii. 44.

valent. Disorders of the eyes also are very general.* The better sort of women here are scarcely ever seen, and when they are, their faces are completely covered. The poorer women are less reserved: they go in troops to draw water, and the elder ones may be seen sitting and chatting at the well, and spinning the coarse cotton of the country, while the young girls are filling the water-skins, which they carry on their backs. Their dress consists of an ample shirt, loose trowsers, with bare feet, and a veil which goes over all. "Their appearance," says Mr. Morier, "is most doleful, though I have noticed a pretty face through all the filth of their attire. The colour of their clothes is originally brown; but, when they become too dirty to be worn under that hue, they are sent to the dyer, who is supposed to clean them by superinducing a dark blue or black tint. In almost every situation, they might be considered as the attendants on a burial; but in a case of death, there are professional mourners."

The open country round Busheer abounds with wild animals, among which are the fox (a large white species), the wolf, the hyena, the porcupine, the *man-gousti*, the antelope, the wild boar, the *jerboa*,† and

* "It is surprising," Mr. Waring says, "to observe the number of blind people and persons with sore eyes in the different parts of the Dushtistan, or low country. "At least one third of the inhabitants have something the matter with the eyes." He attributes it to the excessive heat and dryness of the air, together with the irritation produced by the fine particles of sand blown into the eyes.

† The *jerboa* of the Dashtistan does not live in troops, as, according to Sonnini, this animal does in Egypt; and it differs from his description, Mr. Morier says, in some other particulars, so as to render it probable that they are of various species. The *jerboa* of Hasselquist, of Bruce, and of Sonnini, all seem to differ. The

sometimes the wild goat. The lion has occasionally been known to descend from the mountains into the plain. There is a very large and ferocious species of dog, called the *kofla* dog, from his being the faithful and watchful companion of the *kofla* (*cafila*) or caravan. Partridges abound in the plain, and hawking is a favourite amusement. A beautiful species of Indian grouse is found further inland.

Busheer is indebted for the little consequence which it possesses, to Sheikh Nusir, who supported the dignity and independence of his station against the power of Kurreem Khan. Although perpetually engaged in war, the profits of the extensive trade which he carried on with Muskat and India enabled him to keep up a large standing force ; and at his death, he is said to have left his son two millions in money, three thousand camels, and six hundred brood mares. The son, however, gave himself little trouble to preserve the acquisitions of his father, and was deprived, by Lootf-Ali Khan, of the wealth and power which he wanted the spirit to defend.* A considerable sum

Persian jerboa shuns the light. " One of the most common methods of catching them is by the glare of a lantern, which seems to deprive them of the power of moving, and subjects them quietly to the hand of the man who bears the light. There is another and an easy way of catching them, by pouring water down one of the apertures of their retreat ; they immediately jump out." Mr. Morier hunted several with spaniels ; " but, although surrounded on all sides, they escaped with the greatest facility. When very closely pressed, they have a most dexterous method of springing to an amazing height over the heads of their pursuers ; and, making two or three somersets in the air, they come down again in safety on their hinder legs, many yards from the spot of their ascent. In this leap, they probably use their diminutive paws. Even a greyhound stands no chance with them : as soon as he comes near, they take to the somersets, and the dog is completely thrown out. Their flesh is reckoned very fine."—MORIER, vol. i. pp. 65—7.

* Waring, p. 7.

in specie is still annually exported to Bombay, Masulipatam, and Bengal; whence are obtained in exchange, chintzes, long cloths, muslins, Guzerat *kincobs*, &c. The pearl trade is now almost entirely centered at Muskat, whence the greater part are exported to Surat. The island of Bahrein on the Arabian shore was formerly deemed the most productive bank of the pearl oysters; but the island of Kharrak, Mr. Morier says, now shares the reputation. The fishery extends indeed along the whole of the Arabian coast, and a great part of the Persian side; and "it is a general rule, that, wherever in the Gulf there is a shoal, there is also the pearl oyster. There are two kinds; the yellow pearl, which is sent to the Mahratta market, and the white pearl, which is chiefly sent to Bussorah and Bagdad, and thence to Constantinople and Europe, a large proportion being arrested by the Porte to deck the sultanas of the seraglio. Although, since the transfer of the English market to the banks of the coast of Ceylon, the fishery has declined in activity, it is said to be still as prolific as ever.*

* Morier, vol. i. pp. 52—6. "The pearl of Ceylon peels off: that of the Gulf is as firm as the rock upon which it grows, and, though it loses in colour and water 1 *per cent.* annually for fifty years, yet, it still loses less than that of Ceylon. It ceases after fifty years to lose any thing."—*Ib.* It is therefore much more highly esteemed in Persia. The divers, who are Arabs, seldom live to a great age: their bodies break out in sores, and their eyes become very weak and bloodshot. The mode in which they collect the oysters, is as follows. The diver, having stripped, compresses his nostrils with wooden pincers, or puts a horn over his nose; he then slings round his neck a small basket capable of containing two dozen shells; and jumping overboard, places his feet on two crossed double-headed shot attached to a rope which he holds. His companions in the boat lower him rapidly, and, as soon as he touches the bottom, he quits the rope, which is hauled up. After having filled his basket, he ascends without assistance to the surface. They can remain under water five minutes, and their dives

Not far from Busheer, at about two feet below the surface of the ground, Mr. Morier found two oblong vases rudely made, of baked clay, three feet and a half in length, and the orifice eight inches in diameter. This was closed with a small cover, and within were found human bones, supposed to be those of a woman and child: the enamel of the teeth was undecayed. The vases were placed side by side. Many of a similar kind have been turned up near Busheer; and at Resheer also, they have been found in rows close to an ancient wall. Some pieces of coin are said to have been sometimes contained in the urns, which are doubtless of considerable antiquity. None of the natives could give any satisfactory account of them. In a place of burial near the ruins of Resheer, there are tomb-stones apparently ancient; but Mr. Morier considers it as doubtful, whether they date before or after the Mohammedan era.* Of the fortress of Resheer, built by the Portuguese, (the natives ascribe it to Shah Abbas,) obscure remains are all that are now left. The reservoirs may still be seen, and the line of the fort is traced by the ditch, which is excavated in the rock. The gateways are also discoverable. But who would care to inspect Portuguese remains in

succeed each other rapidly throughout the day. They dive from ten to fifteen fathoms, the largest pearls being found in the deepest water. Sometimes they meet with springs of fresh water at the bottom. At Bahrein in particular, the only water used for drinking on board the cruisers, is procured by sending a man down three or four fathoms with a musket barrel, which he fills and brings up."—ALEXANDER, p. 89.

* Morier, vol. ii. p. 45. Outside of the fort are some flat, oblong stones, which the Author supposed to have been placed over Portuguese tombs. "There are, however, some curious characters upon them, which Sir Harford Jones, who recollects them when they were more legible, conceives to be between the old Cufick and the Nekshi."—*ib.* i. 59.

Persia? At Halila, a small village nine miles S. of Busheer, there is a square fort, but without any guns. Here and there, over the plain, are some little spots sacred to the dead, and defended by small works of stones. The whole of this district has once been populous, but not with Persians.* The Dashtistan, or *Gurm-seer* (hot region), is connected, in its physical character, with Oman, rather than with Iran; and its burning shores can be inhabited only by Arabs, the sailors, carriers, and pirates of the Indian seas from the earliest times.

FROM BUSHEER TO SHIRAZ.

IN proceeding from Busheer towards Shiraz, the first day's journey is usually to the village of Alichangee, a distance of five *fursungs* (about 15 miles).† The

* "There are the ruins of many small forts all over the Dashtistan, which were built by some unsuccessful rebel, and which were left to decay as soon as he was quelled. The population of this district has been decreasing ever since the happy days of Sheikh Nasir. Almost the whole of its geography presents places which have names, but no inhabitants; or, if there are any, they are the refuse only of former flourishing families."—MORIER, i. 77.

† The Rev. Henry Martyn, in travelling to Shiraz in June 1811, left Busheer at ten o'clock P.M., and at sun-rise came to a place called Ahmedee, where the only shelter was a tree; distant six *parasangs* or *fursungs*. "At first," he says, "the heat was not greater than we had felt in India, but it soon became so great as to be quite alarming. When the thermometer was above 112°, fever heat, I began to lose my strength fast. At last it became quite intolerable. I wrapped myself in a blanket and all the warm covering I could get, to defend myself from the external air, by which means the moisture was kept a little longer upon the body, and not so speedily evaporated as when the skin was exposed. One of my companions followed my example, and found the benefit of it. But the thermometer still rising, and the moisture of the body quite exhausted, I grew restless, and thought I should have lost my senses. The thermometer at last stood at 126°....Capt. ***

route crosses for three hours an extensive tract of salt-marshes, which have the appearance of being covered with snow, from the crystallized sulphate of lime which lies on the surface of the sandy soil. Second day, from Alichangee to Borazjoon, nine *fursungs* (about 24 miles). The approach to this thriving village is through plantations of date and tamarisk trees, and the ground in its neighbourhood is well cultivated. Third day, to Daulakee, four *fursungs* (12 miles). The road is much broken by the beds of numerous torrents, and is very stony. Near Daulakee are several streams of mineral water of a most sulphurous smell; one of them is of very high temperature at its source. They all fall into the river of Daulakee. To the left of the road are two springs of black naphtha.* The soil at the roots of the mountains is in some places saturated with a nitrous acid, which is used in acidulating sherbet. It is termed *gil-i-toorsh*, or sour clay, and is deposited by the rivers on their margin. Lieut. Alexander supposes it to be a mixture of alum and sal-ammoniac. Daulakee, or Dalkee, is an inconsiderable place; but near it are some interesting remains of a fire temple and fort. Fourth day, to

who sat it out, continued to tell the hour and height of the thermometer: with what pleasure did we hear of its sinking to 120°, 118°, &c. At last the fierce sun retired." A large wet towel wrapped round the head and body, and a *tattie* of date-branches kept watered, were subsequently found an effectual defence against the violent heat.—*Memoirs*, p. 357, 8.

* "We arrived at the foot of the mountains, at a place where we seemed to have discovered one of nature's ulcers. A strong, suffocating smell of naphtha announced something more than ordinarily foul in the neighbourhood. We saw a river: what flowed in it, it seemed difficult to say, whether it were water or green oil. It scarcely moved, and the stones which it laved, it left of a greyish colour, as if its foul touch had given them the leprosy."—MARTYN'S *Journal*. *Memoirs*, p. 359.

Konartukht (Konar-a-Takhta), in the plain of Khisht, four *fursungs* (16 miles). We shall here avail ourselves of Lieut. Alexander's spirited narrative, as containing both the latest and the most minute description of this part of the route.*

"Immediately after leaving Dalkee, we entered a narrow gorge in the hills, composed of sandstone and clay slate. The hills increased in height as we advanced, from 200 feet to 800; their upper parts presented the appearance of perpendicular scarps; the dip of the strata towards the north; the angle of inclination, 40°. On rounding a corner, we came suddenly upon a rapid river, called the Shoora, from its brackish waters. The road continued for some distance parallel to this impetuous and noisy torrent, which was divided into several deep streams. On the other side of the valley, and over the principal stream, a bridge was observed, one or two of the arches of which had been carried away; we were consequently obliged to cross at a deep ford higher up. When we attained the middle, the water was over the saddle-flaps. We got over luckily without accident, with the exception of two of our dogs, which went howling down the stream.

"In the first part of the pass, several rock-partridges were shot; they differed from others in plumage, which was of a greyish pink colour, and also in

* Lieut. Alexander's first day's stage from Busheer, was to Chakota, distant six *fursungs*, or 24 miles. This place is surrounded with a good wall of sun-dried brick, 15 feet high, with four round bastions twice that height. The sheikh has the character of being particularly attentive to Europeans. From Chakota, he proceeded to Borazgoon, the walls of which could hardly be seen for the numerous stacks of grain which surrounded them. This stage was 16 miles, the distance from Busheer to Borazgoon agreeing with Morier.

being smaller. The *capra ibex*, or wild goat, abounds here, but it is of an inferior size to that of the Alps. Wild sheep are occasionally found: they have long legs, and hair instead of wool. On the road-side, in many places, small recesses were cut in the rock: these are for the shelter of the *tabunchees*, or matchlock-men, who accompany *cafilas* through the pass, to protect them from Bactiari robbers.

“After crossing the river, we commenced ascending the pass of the Kootul Moolah. The narrow path wound amongst huge stones and rocks, and it required constant attention to prevent ourselves from being knocked off our horses and hurled down precipices 200 and 300 feet deep. It was interesting to observe the sagacity of the mules, where there was any thing of a descent: they drew their hind legs under them, and slid down the smooth ledges of rock, and occasionally leaped from one ridge to another. After we had proceeded for some time along the side of the mountain, which was calcareous, with precipices on our left, and a stream gurgling far below us on our right, we began to ascend, in an almost straight line, the face of the mountain. We were obliged to hold firmly by the manes of our horses, to prevent our slipping over the kantle; and in the middle of the ascent, we were obliged suddenly to dismount, as our steeds began to slip backwards with us. On coming to a most dangerous part of the ascent, one of our companions, who had been here before, said, that he had seen a mule dashed from this spot to the bottom of the mountain, by striking against one of the mules of another *cafila* which was descending. After attaining an elevation of 1200 feet, we arrived at the *rhadar*, a solid piece of masonry, with a wide Saracen arch in the centre. At the sides were recesses for the

accommodation of the *rhudarees*, or protectors of the road. It was with no small satisfaction that we passed through the arch, and found ourselves on a table-land on the other side, being the fertile vale of Kist. The air was here delightfully cool, and our olfactories were regaled by the delicious odour of a *convolvulus*, but which I was unable to discover. Lions with short manes are frequently seen in this plain and on the surrounding mountains.

“Journeying merrily along for about a fursung, we arrived at the capital caravanserai of Konartukht on the 12th. This village is noted for its excellent caravanserai : it is the best we had yet seen, and it may not be out of place shortly to describe it. It is surrounded with a wall twenty feet in height, with four round towers at the angles. Over the gateway are three rooms, which, being open on all sides, catch every breath of wind. Around the walls, in the inside, are arched recesses for the accommodation of wayfarers : these extend half way to the outer walls, and the vacant space consists of long rows of stabling, which are entered by the four angles. In the centre of the square is a platform, raised three or four feet from the ground, which is used for sleeping on in hot weather. Below this, and under ground, is a lofty vaulted room, in one corner of which is a well of good water. This caravanserai, and others of this country, possess several advantages over those which I had seen in India. There is no stabling in the latter, and no platform in the centre of the square. In Persia, stabling for the mules and horses is indispensable in the winter months.

“We here found an extensive establishment of horses belonging to Noor Mahomed, a very *honest* horse-dealer belonging to Kazeroon. He keeps half

of his stud here, it being cheaper than in his native place. In the fertile plain of Kist, there is most excellent hare and partridge shooting: several brace were killed by our party. The hares were smaller, but have much longer ears than those of Europe. The partridges were of the species called painted. The male species was a beautiful bird: the feet and bills were red, the breast black spotted with white, with a black ring round the neck; the sides were ferruginous, marked with black. The females and young were brown with black spots. Thermometer 90°.

“ Left for Kumeredge, distant fourteen miles. On quitting Konartukht, after a mile's ride, I observed, on the hill to the right, an upright stone or small tower; and across and along the road extended the foundations of buildings. In a field, I saw several holes made by porcupines, who had been digging for bulbous roots. After traversing three miles of plain, we entered the hills, between which we crept along by a tortuous and narrow path, with a rapid river on our left. This, we were told by Noor Mahomed, who intended accompanying us to Kazeroon, was the Shapoor, which name it acquires after passing the far-famed ruins of the city so called. Shortly after this, passing through hills impregnated with salt, it is termed the Shoora, which we had already crossed. The stones in the bed and sides of the river seem to be indurated sandstone. After winding amongst the hills for some time longer, and crossing several small mountain torrents, we suddenly found ourselves in a deep and narrow glen. The *tout-ensemble* was here of the grandest and most sublime description; steep mountains of 1600 feet in height, seemingly tumbling on our heads: the strata were within a few degrees of being vertical. The moon, appearing from behind

one of the loftiest peaks, threw half the scene into deep shade, and mildly illuminated the other half. A complete stop seemed now to be put to our further progress; but our guides, suddenly turning to the left, commenced ascending one of the loftiest mountains, called the Kootul Kumeredge, by a steep zig-zag road. After scrambling up the ascent on horseback for some time, I looked over the side of the path, and found my right leg hanging over an awful abyss of 600 feet in depth: on my left, was a lofty and bluff rock of amygdaloidal limestone. This occurred three or four times during the ascent. Down one of these precipices, a mule of the envoy's, laden with liquor, was dashed. We were separated from the lofty mountain on our right, consisting of pointed and vertical strata of limestone, by this tremendous gulley. At one or two of the most dangerous turnings, there were ridiculous little parapets, of a foot in height: they might be of some small service to descending *cafilas*. After scrambling and slipping for an hour, we reached the *rhadar*, which was a cave on the right side of the road, across which was built a wall with a narrow opening in the centre. Out of the cave issued a savage-looking man with a skin of water in his hand, which we quickly emptied.

“Shortly after passing the *rhadar*, we entered the plain of Kumeredge, bounded by an amphitheatre of mountains: it is three miles in length, by one and a half or two in breadth. On the right, a small encampment of the Illyauts, or wandering peasantry of the country, was observed, consisting of five or six black tents. In the seasons for sowing and reaping the grain, these tribes (some of which are very strong, and have one of their head men at court as a hostage for the good behaviour of the rest) descend from their pas-

tures, of which each tribe has a limited district, and cultivate the valleys. The dress of the men differs from that of other Persians, by the more frequent adoption of a high and white cap of felt, instead of the conical black sheep-skin. The dress of the women is generally blue; consisting of a loose pair of trowsers, a chemise open half way down in front, and descending above the drawers to the middle of the thigh; on the head is a three-cornered veil of checkered blue and white cloth.

“The caravanserai at Kumeredge having been deserted for some time, and in ruins from having been frequently attacked by robbers, we bivouacked in a field near the village.*

“In the evening we left for Devisht, distance twelve miles. In proceeding along the vale, the hills nearest were stratified after the manner of trap, and were 200 or 300 feet in height. These were backed on the right by mountains apparently 2000 feet high, with square summits. The colour is that of red sandstone, but I am inclined to think the basis is limestone. Further on, the range is decidedly calcareous and very cavernous. In passing through the narrow and rugged defile which leads into the extensive plain of Kazeroon,† the road in one place was nearly blocked up by a huge mass of rock which had been thrown down by the earthquake two years before. On the side of the path I observed the *amygdalus Persica*, which, being wild, is of course a bitter almond. Some distance further on, we came to a *rhadar*.”

* The passes of the *Koutul Kumeredge* (Mr. Morier writes it *Khaumauridge*) are infested by a daring tribe of Bactiari robbers.

† *Tengui Turkoon* is the name of one pass between two high branches of the mountains; besides which, Mr. Morier says, there is a road to the left, which leads over the mountain.

Our Traveller and his companion halted at Devisht, for the purpose of visiting the celebrated ruins and sculptures at Shapoor, distant two fursungs. The rest of the party proceeded the regular stage to Kazeroon, distant from Kumeredge twenty-four miles.

“On applying to the *kutkhoda** of Devisht for guides to Shapoor, he declared, that fewer than fifteen or twenty armed men would not accompany us, as the hills about Shapoor swarmed with Muhumud Soonee† robbers, who, the day before, had killed on the plain the head-man of a neighbouring village. We retired to rest on the top of the *kutkhoda*’s house, which was half under ground, almost the whole of the village having been destroyed by the earthquake of 1824. The thermometer, till two in the morning, was under 40°. At two o’clock (June 14), we rose, mounted, and proceeded towards the east, along the foot of the limestone hills which bound on each side the long valley of Kazeroon. We were accompanied by eight matchlock-men and two Illyauts armed with spears; four horsemen also strengthened the party. Having marched four miles, the guides requested us to dismount, as they could not proceed for the cold. We had crossed several streams, on the banks of which were juniper-bushes, and our legs had got wet; we, therefore, complied with their request, and halted on a threshing-floor, circular, and the bottom of hard beaten clay. Our conductors lighted a large fire; when

* When the chief or head-man of a village or district is an Arab, he is styled *shiekh*; when a Persian, *kutkhoda*.

† This is the word which Mr. Morier, in his first journey, writes *Memmeh Sunni*, and, in his second volume, softens into *Mamacenni*, supposing them to be descendants of the Tatar tribe described under that name by Quintus Curtius. If Lieut. Alexander’s orthography be correct, this ingenious hypothesis falls to the ground.

they had warmed themselves for half an hour, we remounted, and after an hour's ride, found ourselves amongst the ruins of Shapoor. We first crossed a broad ditch, through which a stream of water flowed, and scrambling up the face of a decayed curtain, found ourselves on the top of the ancient rampart, and saw the extensive remains of stone-built houses below us. At this moment I experienced the shock of an earthquake; it seemed to pass from south to north, accompanied by a long rumbling noise among the hills, and a sudden oppressive heat in the atmosphere.

"We now proceeded along the wall, with the remains of round stone bastions at intervals, in a southerly direction. I observed that very few of the walls of the houses were standing; and from the few that were erect, the cement had been washed out from between the stones. Upon reaching the south-west angle of the city wall, the matchlock-men fired several times, and loading with ball, preceded us through a narrow gorge between two hills. On our left ran a clear and rapid river, called the Sasoon, which, after passing the ruins, acquires the name of Shapoor, and after crossing the saline bed, as before mentioned, is termed Shoora.* On the left bank of the river, behind some high reeds, appeared several sculptures on the rock. Proceeding further, on our right, we passed a sculpture very much effaced: it represents a bull and one or two men seemingly in procession. Beyond this is the large groupe of *bas-reliefs*, of which a plate is given by Sir John Malcolm. The hill above

* See p. 315. This river is said to have its rise near Kazeroon, and running through the country of the Roodhillus, falls into the sea near Bundureek.—(WARING, p. 20.) Mr. Morier says, it falls into the sea at Rohilla. Its source is fresh, but it becomes brackish on reaching the salt soil.

these sculptures on our right, seemed to have been the citadel of Shapoor, as the remains of enormously thick walls are visible over it.

“ Having advanced about half a mile into the valley of the cave, which resembles an isosceles triangle, (the upper part of the valley on the right, or the apex, being a mile from the cave in the centre of the base of the triangle,) we crossed the river, which seemed completely alive with fish (grayling). Proceeding along the right bank, we found ourselves under the cave, and began to ascend, still keeping on horseback. The hills which surround this triangular valley are, as usual, calcareous. The hill in which the cave is situated, is, apparently, one thousand feet in height: four hundred feet is a naked and perpendicular scarp. One hundred feet from the bottom of the scarp is the cave: from the bottom of the scarp to the river, the angle of descent is not far off 45° . The strata of the hills dip backwards from the valley in three different directions: the dip of the strata in the hill of the cave is apparently towards the N.W.; the angle of inclination, 8° or 10° . We ascended about a third of the way to the bottom of the scarp on horseback, when, wishing to save our steeds, we dismounted. Noor Mahomed, however, scrambled up on his unfortunate horse the whole way, sending down showers of stones at every step.*

“ After scrambling up the steep ascent for about

* Lieut. Alexander charges the Persians with being very merciless towards their animals, and he speaks slightly of their horsemanship. “ It is almost impossible to fall from a Persian saddle: the pummel terminates in a wooden handle, surmounted with a carved ornament resembling a *fleur-de-lis*; of this they make use when in danger of falling. Place a Persian on a hunting-saddle, and desire him to gallop over a plain, he would be sprawling on the ground in five minutes.”

twenty minutes, we attained the bottom of the scarp. I here found abundance of wild oats, bitter almonds, white holyhock, abundance of the true Scotch thistle, and several varieties of moss, with a few lichens. Proceeding along the foot of the scarp for some distance, we came to a rock twelve feet in height; up this we mounted, with the assistance of our guides. Thinking that we were now close to the great cave, and wishing to be the first to enter it, I turned to the left, and found an arch under a rock. I called out to the rest to follow, but the guides said that the great cave was much further up. Accordingly, after ascending some distance, we came to the mouth, which is upwards of one hundred and thirty feet in length (across), and fifty in height. Standing at the entrance, the appearance is very striking; for the cave seems to diminish from the entrance to a small black spot, but it does not diminish in height. There is a great descent, and in the centre lies the mutilated statue of a king, supposed to be the only statue in the country. We did not stand long to contemplate the interior from the entrance, but ran down the slope in search of water. Passing the prostrate king, we found a square tank on the left, but no water. Immediately opposite to us was a large stalactite, called the Lamp of Shapoor; this overlooked a deep pit, forming the floor of a lofty hall, one hundred feet in height. The sides of this circular hall, as well as of the long gallery of entrance, (where we were obliged to light torches, though directly opposite the entrance,) were entirely covered with a thick coating of stalactite: no part of the rock was visible. In some places, the stalactites stood out from the sides, like trunks of trees, and forming many fantastic figures; from the roof

several hung in a threatening position. The floor was covered with a rich mould, arising from the dung of birds, for several pigeons were disturbed by us. We also found traces of Muhumud Soonee robbers.

“Having got down to the bottom of the circular hall, we observed galleries running in different directions. We, of course, inquired particularly for the passage that would lead to the water, and were told it was straight forward : we accordingly entered another lofty chamber, and found a large elliptical tank, but not a drop of water in it. What rendered our case worse was, that we heard water dropping on every side of us. Though the place was delightfully cool, our thirst was intense, and we had expended the small skin we had brought with us from the river in the ascent. We now proceeded directly forward, and entered another large hall, and then a chamber resembling a Hindoo temple. The stalactites bore the appearance of stout square pillars, on which were laid architraves. After this, we penetrated to the end of a chamber, but had to crawl on our hands and knees. We now returned to the elliptical tank, and turning into a hall opposite to it, with our cheeks adhering to our jaws, we found on the floor, to our great joy, beautifully cool and transparent water, sufficient for a herd of elephants. After allaying our thirst, we went into several other galleries and chambers, the sides, roofs, and floors of which were entirely covered by greyish-white stalactites and stalagmites : we then returned to the entrance.

“The tradition regarding the statue of the king, in the centre of the gallery of entrance, is as follows. It was evidently hewn from an immense block of limestone in the place where it now lies, with the head in

the dust, and the stumps of the legs resting on the pedestal; before it was thrown from which, it must have been fifteen or twenty feet in height, consequently presenting a formidable object in the cave. Two brothers hunting on the mountains, one of them entered the cave, and seeing this tremendous object staring at him, was so overpowered by fear, that he fell down and died on the spot. The other brother coming to the cave shortly after, and seeing his brother lying dead at the entrance, guessed the cause, and threw down the statue.

“It was now eight A. M.: we descended to our horses, and mounting them, proceeded to the large sculpture, which is quite entire, crossed the river, and sat down under the ledge of a rock which protects it from the weather. We saw snow from hence on a distant hill. In proceeding to the ledge, it was disgusting to observe the cruelty and insolence of our guides. We met two or three poor travellers proceeding through the valley, and our rascals rushed at them in a body, with drawn swords, threatening to kill them if they did not give their shoes and other little articles they had about them. We had some difficulty in putting a stop to their infamous attempts.

“The bas-reliefs represent a king on horseback, with a globe or balloon-shaped crown: beneath him is the prostrate figure of a man. These two are supposed to represent King Shapoor, who subdued the Roman Emperor Valerian, and used him as a step by which to mount his horse. Behind the king is a short figure, probably the son of King Shapoor. Three figures (apparently Roman) are approaching them in a supplicating attitude. Between the head of the nearest one and that of the horse, is an inscription in the Pehlevi. Behind the king, in several compartments, are

many mounted figures of Persians, and opposite, those of Roman foot soldiers, all the figures as large as life.

“ We crossed the river to view the sculptures on the other side : on attaining the foot of the mountain, we found that we had to proceed along the bottom of an aqueduct to reach them. This was in some places breast high, and overhung with brambles and reeds : where it was carried under the rock, we had to crawl on our hands and knees. The first sculptures we came to were exceedingly beautiful, being cut in a semicircle : they consisted of many rows of small figures, seemingly in procession, with offerings. The next were busts of men and a camel. The third and last displayed a very spirited representation of King Ardashir resigning the circlet of royalty into the hands of his son Shapoor. They appear to be approaching each other on horseback ; the father is much larger than the son, and wears the globe-like crown.

“ We recrossed the river, the banks of which were clothed with myrtles, willows, and splendid rhododendrons, and wandered amongst the ruins of the city, which was attended with great danger, from the numerous wells communicating with the subterraneous aqueducts, or kanauts. We came to the remains of a Guebre burial-ground. It was a large square pit, the sides lined with stone, and the highest part of the wall rising ten or twelve feet above the surface of the ground ; on this there were three cows’ heads, between which the ends of beams probably rested, supporting a roof which covered the whole. On this the bodies were exposed ; and when the bones had been picked clean by birds, they were thrown down a hole in the centre of the roof into a well below. We now bent our steps towards Devisht, with the thermo-

meter in the shade 103° , being a rise of 63° from the time we set out." *

Mr. Morier, having only ignorant guides, gave up the attempt to reach the cavern: to make amends for this, he has given a minute account (with drawings) of the sculptures. He visited Shapoor from Kazeroon, from which it is about twelve miles distant. The commencement of the ruins, coming from the south, is marked by the beautiful stream that issues from a spring over which the road is built, being sustained by fragments of an entablature which has apparently belonged to a very considerable edifice. "Immediately after passing this spring," says Mr. Morier, "we came upon the ruins. We computed the whole to be comprised within a circumference of six miles, inclosing a tract of plain and a hill, on which the remains of the ancient citadel formed a conspicuous object. Whether by a caprice of nature or by the labour of man, this acropolis is distinctly separated from the great range of mountains forming the eastern boundary of the plain of Kauzeroon. Between this and another imposing mass of rock, runs the beautiful river of Shapoor. The opening betwixt the two grand masses presented a landscape the most varied, the most tranquil, the most picturesque, and at the same time the most sublime that imagination can form. A distant range of mountains filled up the interstice, forming a fine aërial perspective, while the river and its rich shrubbery completed a most enlivening foreground. The hill on which the remains of the citadel stand, is covered with the ruins of walls and turrets. On its eastern aspect, the nature of the fortifications can be traced easily; for walls fill the

* Alexander's Travels, p. 114—118.

chasms from rock to rock, forming altogether a place of defence admirably strong."

The sculptures on this hill are carved on a very hard rock, bearing the finest polish, which this Traveller took to be a coarse species of jasper. The height of the figures on foot, is 5 feet 9 inches; that of the equestrian figures, 6 feet 5 inches. The two colossal equestrian figures, on the opposite rock, which Lieut. Alexander supposes to be meant for Ardasheer and his illustrious son, are described as most exquisite pieces of sculpture. "The proportions and anatomy of both horses and men are accurately preserved, and the very veins and arteries in the horse's legs are delicately delineated." The larger sculpture is fourteen yards in length, and consists of ten unequal compartments. It is in a very perfect state. "In the first row, at the top on the right, are a number of slight figures with their arms folded. The second is filled with a crowd, some of which carry baskets. The third is equally covered; and in the right corner, a man is conducting a lion by a chain. In the fourth, just opposite to the king, is a very remarkable groupe, whose loose and folded dresses denote Indians: one leads a horse, behind which is an elephant. Under this, close to the ground, are men in a Roman costume; among them is a chariot, to which two horses are harnessed. In five corresponding compartments on the left, are thick squadrons of Persian cavalry.

"The path that conducted us round to these beautiful monuments, is the course of an aqueduct, which appeared to be of more modern workmanship. Bordering on the road which winds behind the hill of the citadel, are numerous canals, formed most artificially, and closely cemented with *darna*. Besides these, there are very deep wells, in parts of which the channels of

the aqueduct are seen to pass. After having repassed the river, we walked over the numerous mounds of stone and earth which cover the ruined buildings of Shapoor. We were conducted by the peasants to the remains of a very fine wall, which, in the symmetry of its masonry, equalled any Grecian work that I have ever seen. Each stone was 4 feet long, 27 inches thick, and cut to the finest angles. This wall formed the front to a square building, the area of which was 55 feet. At the top were placed sphinxes couchant; a circumstance which we ascertained from discovering accidentally two eyes and a mutilated foot at the extremity of one of the upper stones. In this wall there is a window, which is arched by the formation of its upper stone. Behind this square building, we traced, most correctly, the configuration of a theatre, 30 paces in length and 14 in breadth. It resembled at least those places called theatres which I have seen in Greece. There are distinct mounds scattered over the whole site of the city, to each of which there are one or more wells: these are supposed to be ruins of separate houses. The people of Kazeroon relate, that there are immense subterraneous passages at Shapoor, and connect the most extraordinary stories with them. As a measure of the extent of these labyrinths, they say, that it would require 20 *mauns* of oil (a *maun*= $7\frac{1}{4}$ lbs.) to light any one through all their intricacies. The plants that we noticed near the river, on the site of the city, and about the surrounding plain, were, the *palma Christi*, the rhododendron, the willow, the wild fig (called by the Persians *shauk-a-booz*), reeds, and the *benak* or spice-plant." *

Kazeroon is a straggling, populous town, covering a

* Morier, i. pp. 90—2.

long extent of country, but is half in ruins from frequent earthquakes. Lieut. Alexander "did not find a single upper story standing; and the lower ones were so hidden by the ruins of the upper, that the houses appeared buried under ground." It is one of the hottest towns in Persia. There is a beautiful garden (the only one) belonging to the governor, planted with the cypress, the orange-tree, the apricot, and other fruit trees. Here may be heard the black-bird and the thrush; and from the orange-groves, the bees cull a honey which is much celebrated. Wheat and tobacco are cultivated in the neighbouring fields, the soil of which appears uncommonly rich, and is well watered.

From Kazeroon, the road lies for two *fursungs* over the plain, and then enters upon a long and dangerous causey (called the *Púl-aub-guinee*), which leads over a marsh forming the termination of a lake to the southward, where is "excellent duck-shooting." Turning to the left at the end of the causey, the road passes under a bluff, cavernous rock, and then ascends, by a zig-zag path, the face of a precipitous mountain 800 feet in height, called the *Dokhtur* (daughter). Formerly, this road was singularly dangerous, and accidents still occur, owing to the abrupt turns and the steepness and narrowness of the path. At the top is an extensive salt-lake. A better road leads down into the beautiful little valley of Dustaburd (or Abdoui). "This valley," says Lieut. Alexander, "was the most pleasant we had yet seen: it is one *fursung* in length, and a mile in breadth. Generally, it was covered with the *baloot* or Persian oak, which is not above twenty or thirty feet high. At the end of the valley, we commenced ascending the mountain of *Perizun* (*Peera zun*, Old Woman), which is 7000

feet above the level of the sea : it has commonly a white head, being covered with snow for many months in the year.* After ascending for four miles, during which several hogs and deer crossed our path, we came to a good caravanserai, where we stopped. Saw at a distance goldfinches and green fly-catchers. In front of us was a long serrated ridge of hills. Left in the evening" (the author travelled by night) "for *Dustiajun* (or *Desht-e-arjun*), distant fifteen miles.

"In ascending to the top of the Perizun, it is very difficult to keep in the right road, as it winds so much among stones and trees, of which the common hawthorn and oak are the principal. The fruit of the hawthorn differs from that of the British in being rounder. I observed great quantities of laburnum in ascending. Holes had been burned in the stems of many of the oak-trees, for the purpose of getting at the wild honey. Not a sound was heard all over the mountain ; the deepest silence reigned around, interrupted only by the melancholy and peculiar notes of the bird which constantly calls *huk ! huk !* 'Oh, God ! oh, God !' This, it is said, was a great sinner, who was changed into a bird, and is continually calling on the name of the Almighty. Having reached the top, we looked down upon the valley of *Dustiajun*, which was almost entirely covered with a lake. We now experienced a very great exhilaration of spirits, of which our horses and cattle partook : we went gayly forward, and in a very short time reached the lofty willows at *Dustiajun*. A very copious spring issues from a perpendicular and cavernous limestone rock behind the trees, which turns several flour-

* From an eminence at a little distance from the road, the five successive ranges of mountains which the traveller has crossed, may be distinctly discerned, and the *Dashtistan* beyond.

mills, and then rushes impetuously into the lake. We slept soundly on its banks."

In this swampy plain are wild fowl innumerable; ducks, snipes, and divers, to say nothing of clouds of musquitoes at night. The lake abounds with large grayling. Some of the eminences are covered with vines, and there is abundance of clover, canary-seed, water-cresses, rushes, &c.; but acorn-bread is occasionally the food of the villagers.* Near the village, there is a rock with a remarkable fissure, the being able to pass through which, is held to be a proof of legitimacy.† Several old Persian inscriptions are engraved on the rock; and in a small building below, are shewn four holes, said to be the marks of the hoofs of Mohammed's horse, *Dool-dool*, which he gave to Aly, who, in riding past this spot, was attacked by a lion. Before these marks, the spirit of the presumptuous beast is believed to prostrate itself every Friday evening in posthumous humiliation; and the spot is held in superstitious reverence.

A romantic series of ascents and descents for twelve miles, through a country abounding with low jungle, leads to the caravanserai of Khonah Zunnion (or Khoneh Zenioun). Many partridges of a large brown species, called *kupk*, magpies, and crows with white breasts, abound in this part of the country; and hares in great numbers seek the cover of the juniper-bushes in the hollows. Near the caravanserai, which is a very wretched one, a small stream runs to the eastward. Here, Lieut. Alexander was joined by a native who was only four days from Busheer, having travelled

* If the acorn be of the edible species, this is no proof of poverty or hardship.

† The epithet, *haram zadeh*, bastard, is nearly the most odious that can be applied to a Persian, and is a favourite term of abuse.

in the Persian mode, night and day. Halts included, it had occupied the British Traveller ten days.

The next day's journey, to *Bagh Shah Cheragh*, a distance of twenty miles, lay between two hills, very bleak and bare, and over an undulating country, in the general direction of the river. A capital *rhadar* and excellent bridge are found at the entrance of the fertile valley of Shiraz, at eight miles from that once flourishing capital.*

SHIRAZ.†

THE valley of Shiraz is twenty-four miles in length, and twelve in breadth, bounded, on each side, by hills of no great height, which are entirely bare of vegeta-

* On his return from Shiraz to Busheer, Mr. Scott Waring took a different route, which, being more circuitous, is not frequented by caravans. The first night, proceeding from Dowlatabad, he halted near a small village surrounded with excellent gardens, five *fursukhs* west of Shiraz: on the second, he reached a *serai* half a mile from Kuwur, having travelled five *fursukhs* in a direction nearly south. Third, to Khajue, five *fursukhs*; the road, stony, rugged, and dangerous. Fourth, to Dihbur, a small village one *fursukh* from Ferozabad; a city equal in circumference to Shiraz. The route is "infamous" in this part, and scarcely practicable. Fifth, to a spring amidst the hills, five *fursukhs* from Dihbur. Sixth, to a village of hovels, called Burmih, distance four *fursukhs*. With the exception of this place, *there is not a single habitation on the road for the distance of ninety miles*; although the soil in many parts would abundantly repay for cultivating. Seventh, to a spring of brackish water, five *fursukhs* further; "the road nothing better, and the heat almost insupportable; thermometer 105°." Eighth, to Bishgoon, five *fursukhs*, over a still worse road, much infested by banditti. Ninth, to Uhrum, six *fursukhs*; a journey of nine hours amidst the hills, the road extremely difficult and dangerous; thermometer, 114°. Tenth, to Ulee Chungée (Alichangee), three *fursukhs*. Eleventh, to Bahmunee, five *fursukhs*: this place is about one *fursukh* from Busheer, and one mile from Resheer. Total distance from Shiraz to Busheer, 54 *fursukhs*, probably between 170 and 200 miles.

† Lat. 29° 33' 55".—PORTER. Lat. 29° 36' 37"—NIEBUHR.

tion. Groves and avenues of plane (*chinar*), cypress, and poplar, once adorned the environs of the city ; but these have for the most part disappeared ; and Shiraz, though surrounded with gardens, no longer presents an imposing aspect. Lieutenant Alexander states, that there is not a single dome or minaret standing : they were all levelled by the earthquake in 1824. “ The walls are of a good height, defended by round bastions at regular distances : the gates are distinguished by having a couple of towers to flank them. There is, as usual, a rampart and parapet. The ark (or citadel) of Kureem Khan is square, with four bastions, surrounded with a deep wet ditch. The population of Shiraz is at present computed at 30,000 souls. Since the last earthquake, the climate has very much changed from its former celebrity. The water in the wells has risen very near the surface ; (where, formerly, there were ten and fifteen yards of line, there are now only three or four ;) and the increased evaporation has, it is supposed, caused a deleterious atmosphere in the plain.” Prior, indeed, to this last calamity, the salubrity of the situation is stated to have undergone a material change, in consequence of the neglect of the water-courses. Owing to this, the water of the numerous rills that once distributed verdure and fertility, had become scarcely drinkable, forming, in the heat of summer, a number of stagnant pools. “ Every thing within the town,” says Sir Robert Ker Porter, (who saw it in 1818,) “ seems neglected ; the bazars and maidans falling into ruins ; the streets choked with dirt and mouldering heaps of unrepared houses ; and the lower orders who infest them, squalid and insolent. One of the most material instances of public neglect, and which presses immediately on the attention, is the state of the water,

which is so foul as to injure the health. No excuse can be offered on the part of the magistrates, the same sources remaining, which, in former years, provided wholesome and beautiful water. The spring at the tomb of Saadi is still ready to pour its stream through proper channels into the town; and the limpid rills of the Roknabad, once more collected, might again visit the walls of Shiraz. I inquired whether the water which at present supplies the town, is always in so bad a state, and was answered in the affirmative; cooler weather producing it more plentifully, but making no change in the quality.”*

The decline of this city dates from the death of its munificent sovereign, Kureem Khan. “Sheeraz,” says Mr. Scott Waring, who visited it in 1802, “I am apt to believe, will disappoint those who have imagined it a populous and noble city. It is worth seeing, but not worth going to see. The town is by no means so large as is reported. Many of the streets are so narrow, that an ass loaded with wood stops your way, if you are on horseback; and the houses are generally mean and dirty. But we now see Sheeraz to great disadvantage, Aga Moohummud, the late king, having destroyed an excellent stone wall with very strong bastions, which was deemed by the Persians almost impregnable, and several of the best houses in the place. In his time, it was surrounded with a broad and deep ditch, (according to Captain Franklin, 60 feet wide and 20 deep,) which he filled up on destroying the fort.

“Notwithstanding the concurring praises of every Persian author, I very much doubt, whether Sheeraz ever merited the extravagant commendations which

* Porter's Travels, vol. i. p. 693.

have been lavished on it. Although the most magnificent and substantial buildings are subject to decay, climates seldom undergo any great alteration; and though Hafiz tells us, it is superior to any in the world, I must add, that, during my residence there, the thermometer was often at 100° , and never under 90° .* I have not forgotten the caution of Hafiz, although I have not observed it: ‘Do not find fault with Sheeraz, nor with the waters of Rooknee, nor its pleasant breezes, for this city is a mole upon the cheeks of the whole universe.’ Travellers who visited Persia long before the ravages of time could have entirely defaced the marks of sumptuous edifices, speak

* “From the 28th to the 31st of May (1811), the heat was excessive, the thermometer, at about two o’clock, in our different tents, varying from 96° to 103° . The Persians allowed this heat to be uncommon, but still talked of it as trifling when compared with the great heats of summer. Although it was very oppressive, yet we did not find it so relaxing as the heat of India. All our furniture had suffered extremely. Mahogany boxes that had stood the climate of India, and which had crossed the equator several times unwarped, here cracked. Ivory split; our mathematical rulers curled up; and the mercury in the artificial horizons overran the boxes which contained it. We found the nights cool, and the mornings quite cold, the thermometer varying sometimes 30° between the greatest heat and the greatest cold. . . . Since the middle of June, at about two o’clock, Fahrenheit’s thermometer was scarcely ever under 100° . On the 7th of July, it was 105° in my tent; on the 8th, at 108° ; on the 9th, at 110° .”—MORIER, vol. ii. pp. 97, 113. Sir R. K. Porter says: “Since my arrival (July 2, 1818), the thermometer, at any time of the day, has seldom fallen below 90° in the shade, or under 80° at night. But while Captain Francklin was here, he had the advantage of a milder atmosphere, the average being then at 78° during the day, and 62° at night.”—PORTER, vol. i. p. 693. Mr. Waring calls in question, however, the Captain’s accuracy. Sir William Ouseley confirms Mr. Morier’s statement, remarking that the heat of Shiraz seems, indeed, proverbial, since Hassan Asfendyar, in extolling the excellence of Tabristan, his favourite province, boasts that “It has not heats like those of Omán, Shiraz, or Ahwaz.”—OUSELEY, vol. ii. p. 214.

neither of the extensive ruins nor the splendid monuments of Sheeraz. Olearius, who was in Persia in the year 1615, says, that Sheeraz did not contain more than 10,000 houses, but that its ruins extended two miles. Herbert, who accompanied Sir Thomas Sherley into Persia in the year 1625, remarks, that the circumference was eight or nine miles, and that there were fifteen mosques, one of which had two pillars as high as St. Paul's. Dr. Fryer speaks of Sheeraz as containing some fine markets. Thevenot informs us, that its circumference is two hours' walk; and Tavernier calls it a mean, dirty place, which was once surrounded with a wall of mud, then fallen down. I should suppose the town to be about five miles in circumference: it took me little more than an hour to walk my horse round it.....At least a fourth part is entirely in ruins. The quarter where the Laks resided, to the number of 10,000, was destroyed by Aga Moohummud." *

Mr. Morier makes Shiraz "nearly four miles in circumference. One third of its buildings to the S.E. is in ruins. Those that are habitable, are also interspersed with ruins; and, of the remaining space, so much is taken up with bazars, *meydans* (squares), the Prince's palace, gardens, stables, and other public buildings, that to say that one half of the city is occupied by the inhabitants, is perhaps more than the truth." According to the information secretly obtained from the *kutkhodas* of the several wards or parishes, the number of houses which the city contained in 1811, was 7,780. This, at five souls to a family, would give a population of 38,900 souls. Mr. Morier, however, from the observations made in riding

through the city, concludes that the number of inhabited houses did not amount to more than one-half of that estimate; and he gives therefore, as a reasonable calculation, sanctioned by other evidence, a total of 19,000 souls.*

The most minute account of the city and its environs is furnished by Sir William Ouseley, who accompanied the British ambassador, Sir Gore Ouseley, as private secretary, in 1810-12; and who explored the country with all the zeal of a learned and accomplished antiquary. We shall give in a compressed form the result of his observations.

“The city of Shiraz seems rapidly hastening to decay, and most of its public structures, once very numerous, are in a state of ruin or of neglect. The chief *masjed*, or mosque, founded by Atábeg Shah, is a grand edifice, about 150 yards square, and has for above six centuries borne the name of *Masjed-e-naw*, or the New Mosque. There are, as I heard, nearly sixty other places of religious worship.† Karim

* According to a calculation made a year or two before, Shiraz consumed *per diem* 8000 Tabriz *mauns* of wheat, made up into 10,000 *mauns* (equal to 72,500 lbs.) of bread. A Persian eats per day one *charek* or a quarter of a *maun*; and this will give, as the sum of the population, 18,125 souls. Sir W. Ouseley also doubts whether the population much exceeded 20,000 souls. It has probably diminished since 1811.

† Mr. Morier says: “Shiraz has six gates. It is divided into twelve *mahalehs* or parishes, in which there are fifteen considerable mosques, besides many others of inferior note; eleven *medresses* or colleges, fourteen *bazars*, thirteen caravanserais, and twenty-six *hummums* or baths. Of all the mosques, the *Mejded Ali* (built in the khalifat of Abbas) is the most ancient, and the *Mejded No* the largest. It was indeed originally the palace of Attabek Shah, who, in a dangerous illness of his son, consulted the mollahs as to the best means of his recovery, and was answered, that he must devote to the Almighty, that which of all his worldly goods he valued most. He accordingly converted his palace into a mosque; and the Mo-

Khan had, at the time of his death, almost completed a capacious mosque, embellished, according to report, with a tessellated pavement of beautiful marble, besides seventy columns of stone: this is the *Masjed-e-Vakil*. Of the *madrassehs*, or colleges, comprised within the city, (amounting, as some said, to forty,) several are totally abandoned, and the others are but thinly attended by students. One of the most celebrated is the *Madrasseh-i-Khan*, containing 103 cells or chambers.* The citadel, called the Ark or *Areg*, † comprising the palace, *Divan Khánah*, many fountains and reservoirs, and various baths, are all memorials of the illustrious Karim Khan, who exercised the fullest powers of a king under the inferior title of Vakil. The *Hammam-i-Vakil*, which he constructed near his mosque already mentioned, is the finest of sixty or seventy baths frequented by the citizens. But the bazar erected by him is the glory of Shiraz, and unequalled throughout the empire. It is a spacious and lofty street, covered by a handsome vaulted roof, and divided, as a Persian assured me, into 1500 shops. How much this account was exaggerated, I had not patience to ascertain by actual enumeration; but the *Bazar-i-Vakil* is a building of considerable extent,

hammedans add, that his son was in consequence restored to health. The *Mesjed Jumei* is likewise an ancient structure, and there are six others of an older date than the time of Kerim Khan."

* "I went to see the college. It is almost in ruins, not having been repaired these two hundred years. It contains *sixty* or *seventy* sets of rooms, in many of which we observed teachers and scholars giving and hearing lectures. It was formerly richly endowed, but the rapacity of the kings has stripped it of every thing: only a small stipend was allowed to the principal teachers."—MARTYN'S *Memoirs*, p. 418.

† Answering to the Latin *arx*, a small castle within a larger fortress.

and would prove an ornament to the capital of any country.

“ This city possesses within its precincts, the remains of a hundred *Imám Zadahs*, according to local information ; but the number is reduced to sixty by the more accurate statement of Mirza Jan (or Joon, a learned native of Shiraz). Their tombs are mostly small edifices of brick or clay, of mean appearance, some of them surmounted with domes. Two or three seemed to be occupied by dervishes or other persons engaged in prayer and meditation. A little outside the walls are many cemeteries, distinguished respectively by the names of remarkable personages : most of them are shaded by a few trees, and over or near the principal grave, there is a brick building, which forms the *takkiah*, a lodging or resting-place for pilgrims. Such is that called *Shahzadah Mohammed* ; another is the *Shah Dâi*, with a garden, about one mile southward from the city. Opposite to this is an ample burial-ground named *Derb-i-Salm*, one of the most ancient spots in the vicinity of Shiraz. The *Khatun-e-Kyámet* is a large building towards the south-eastern extremity of the city, in a place celebrated for good water and pure air : the dome is of coloured tile-work, and said to be 600 years old. Near the *Hafizeah* (Hafiz’s tomb) is a considerable edifice, named, from the *Imam Zadah* who reposes in it, *Shah Mir Ali Hamzah*, conspicuous with its glazed cupola. Behind is another *Imam Zadah*, the *Mir Mohammed*. These are two of the cemeteries belonging to Shiraz. Not far from them is the *Takkiah* of Mohammed Rahim Khan, handsomely built of brick. It derives its name from the person whose body it contains, the son of Karim Khan : to this building are annexed a bath

and a caravanserai.* Other *takkiahs* and graves of pious and learned men may be seen in the neighbourhood. Kæmpfer, no very modern traveller, mentions a work describing them, entitled, ‘*Hazar ve yek mezar,*’ The Thousand and One Tombs.†

“ But Shiraz will not reward those who seek for vestiges of remote antiquity. The boast of an early origin is not supported by any monuments; and sober inquiry assigns its foundation to the seventh century of our era. One tradition relates, that it was originally erected by Tahmuras Diveband, and fell to ruin. But, according to accounts the most authentic, the brother (or cousin) of the tyrant Hejâje Ben Yusuf either founded or repaired it, in the seventy-fourth year of the Hejirah (A.D. 639). By some of the native writers, the name of Shiraz is derived from a son of Tahmuras, one of those early sovereigns whose history is clouded with fable. But a rare manuscript informs us, that the city was so called from a word in the old Persic language, signifying lion’s paunch, because all the wealth of every town in the same region was

* “ Leaving the city by the Isfahan gate, we came to the *Mesjid Shah Mirza Hamza*, a mosque erected by Kerim Khan, in a separate chamber of which are laid the remains of his son, Abdul Ra-keem Khan. In the front court is an old and majestic cypress. Although some parts of the fabric are in decay, it is still beautiful. Its walls are built of the fine brick employed in all the public works of its founder, and, indeed, in the best houses of Shiraz. Its cupola is covered with green-lakered tiles of a semicircular form, which, fitted in close lines, give a symmetrical appearance of ribs to its shining surface.”—MORIER, vol. ii. p. 103.

† A thousand and one is a favourite number in the East, or rather a favourite term for an indefinite number; as, the “ thousand and one churches,”—the name given to ruins at Larenda near Iconium (MOD. TRAV., *Syria*, vol. ii. p. 302); the cistern of “ a thousand and one pillars” at Constantinople; and the “ thousand and one nights” of the Arabian Tales.

transported to Shiraz, and none returned thence to any other place.* We learn from Hafiz Abrú, that, in the beginning of Islam, while the Arabian troops were fighting at Istakr, their camp covered the spot where Shiraz now stands. 'Having taken Istakr,' says another writer, 'they came to this place of encampment, and built the city, which is in extent about one farsang, and without walls.' This account was composed in the tenth century of our era; but it appears that fortifications were soon after erected. According to Hamdallah, Shiraz became so populous during the reign of Azzed ad Douleh, (who died A.D. 982,) that he could not find there sufficient room for the accommodation of his army; he built, therefore, in front, a village, generally called *Suk al Emir*, the Prince's Market; but it is now destroyed. Shiraz, until the time of Samsam-ad-Douleh (son of Azzed), had been without ramparts. He, to defend the city, constructed a wall 12,500 paces in circumference. This was repaired by Sharf-ad-din Mahmúd; and some old walls were standing in the year 1627, when Sir Thomas Herbert visited Shiraz. These had nearly disappeared in 1665, as Tavernier informs us; and we learn from Chardin, that, at the time of his residence there (1669), the city was no longer surrounded with walls, although the gates remained. The present fortifications are modern. Karim Khan encompassed Shiraz with towers and walls: most of these were pulled down, and others built by Aga Mohammed Khan. The space inclosed is probably from four to five miles in circumference; but many parts of the city are very scantily inhabited. In the fourteenth

* A lexicographer cited by Waring, derives it from *Sheer*, milk. *Sheer*, however, signifies lion. In Turkish, *Shehr* means city.

century, Shiraz had nine gates: there were in the sixteenth century, twelve. One hundred years after, four only remained, which Chardin has enumerated; and in 1811, I counted six....The prospect of Shiraz from a rising ground on the Isfahan road,* is the most favourable; although the intermediate space exhibits but faint vestiges of those gardens and buildings that once rendered it so rich and beautiful a scene, according to the reports of travellers; and we can trace the multiplicity of cypresses that excited their admiration, only in the few still preserved near the tombs of certain holy men." †

The tombs of Hafiz and Saadi are among the first objects which a stranger naturally inquires after. That of Hafiz is placed within a quadrangular inclosure, called the *Hafizeah*, not far from the Isfahan gate. A range of chambers forming a pleasure-house, divides the quadrangle into two parts: one, facing the city, is a garden; in the back court is placed the poet's tomb, at the foot of one of the cypresses planted with his own hands. The monument, which, in its present state at least, is the work of Kureem Khan, is a parallelogram of Tabriz marble, beautifully variegated, with a projecting base. On the tablet, two of his odes are very beautifully cut. A number of tombs and graves are adjacent, but none of them deserve notice, and they serve only to lessen the impression. In one of the adjoining chambers, the poet's collected works are preserved as a *vakf* for endowment. This is a place of great resort for the citizens, who repair thither to

* The *Tang* (pass) i *Allah-akbar*, which is supposed to derive its name from the involuntary exclamation, "God is great," awakened by the first sight of Shiraz after toiling through sandy deserts.

† Ouseley's Travels, vol. ii. pp. 17-27.

smoke *kaleoons*, drink coffee, and chaunt the anacreontics of their favourite poet; it is also generally infested by a crowd of lazy and unclean dervishes. A few stately cypresses still adorn the cemetery; but two of the most magnificent were cut down, not many years ago, by a chief of the queen's eunuchs, who happened to require timber for a building! Of the trees so thickly planted outside the Hafizeah, (according to Kämpfer's view, taken above a century ago,) one only remained in 1811.

To persons inquiring for the Moosellay, the pleasure-gardens so warmly celebrated in the odes of Hafiz,* some walls are shewn, forming one end of an inclosure, a parallelogram about 180 feet by 42, not many hundred yards from the tomb of Hafiz. "Of the walls yet standing, the lower part is faced with stone: above, they are brick, and some of the fine cement, covered with a dark blue varnish, yet remains. A block of marble, well carved in the Arabesque manner, and once, perhaps, the ornament of an arch, has fallen neglected among heaps of rubbish, on the outside of this edifice, which was, we have reason to believe, spacious and handsome." The Moosellay itself is said to have been an edifice of a religious character, and its cemetery contained the bodies of many distinguished personages long before Hafiz was born. The denomination was probably extended to a spacious tract of garden ground, including what is now the Hafizeah.

- * "Whate'er the frowning zealots say,
Tell them, their Eden cannot shew,
A stream so clear as Rocnabad,
A bower so sweet as Mosellay."

Sir W. Jones's Translation of a song of Hafiz. So, in an ode translated by Mr. Waring: "The morning breeze of Mooselay and the waters of Roknabad will not permit me to travel."—WARING, p. 211.

Through this tract run two streams, the *Ab-i-Miri* and the *Ab-i-Rukni*, or *Ruknabad*. These are occasionally diverted into various channels for the purpose of irrigation. "Across the Ruknabad (or Rukni, as it is generally called)," says Sir W. Ouseley, "I often stepped; but, however small,* it is more famed than many mighty rivers; having contributed, with shrubs, flowers, and trees, (of which not one vestige can now be found,) and the querulous *bulbul* (or nightingale), to render this a delightful spot, and to justify Hafiz in his praise of the *Musella* and its rosy bowers. The air is said to be peculiarly pure and salubrious at this place, which, even in its deteriorated condition, is frequented by the meaner citizens of Shiraz, who, on summer evenings, come here in parties, to chat, to smoke, and to eat lettuces dipped in the bubbling stream. But they rarely permit their wives and daughters to participate in these recreations."

Not far from the Hafizeah are the *Chehel-tan* (Forty Bodies) and the *Haft-tan* (Seven Bodies); two buildings erected by Kureem Khan to the memory of as many holy men or dervishes. The *Haft-tan* is a pleasure-house, with a garden planted with cypresses

* "The Abi-Roknabad," says Mr. Waring, "is a contemptible little stream, and is not, after it has been joined by many other streams which flow from the hills, at any place six feet broad."—WARING, p. 40. "Shiraz," says a native writer cited by Sir William Ouseley, "is supplied with water by means of *kanats* and *karizes* (subterraneous conduits and trenches or artificial water-courses above ground). And the best of these is the *kariz* which Rukn ad Doulet Hassan Ebn Baiah, a prince of the Dilemite race, first caused to be made; and this *kariz* is denominated the water or stream of Rukn abad."—Mirkhond. The prince from whom the stream derives its name, died A.D. 976.—OUSELEY, vol. ii. p. 8. According to this statement, the Roknabad would seem to be an artificial water-course fed by the streams from the mountains.

and *chinar*-trees (a species of plane or sycamore), and interspersed with marble fountains. In the principal room, which is lined with Tabriz marble, are some paintings, representing the offering of Isaac, Moses keeping the flocks of Jethro, dervishes performing penance, and portraits of Hafiz and Saadi. These last, which, if authentic originals, would be of some value, are modern pictures, and possibly from fancy merely. "Yet," remarks Sir W. Ouseley, "in Shiraz, of which these poets are the pride and glory, and where they were born and died, some traces of their form might be preserved." Saadi is drawn as an old man, with a silver beard; Hafiz, in the bloom of youth, with a fine ruddy complexion, and dressed more like a woodman than a poet. "He was originally drawn without mustachios; but some painter, taking offence at this appearance of want of manhood, supplied the defect, and has entirely disfigured the countenance." *

Quitting this pretty place, and taking the road to the right, we come to a magnificent garden, "another evidence of the splendour of the reign of Kureem Khan." It was called from its founder, *Bagh-a-Vakeel*, but has since acquired the name of *Bagh-a-Jehan-Nemah*. "An immense wall, of the neatest construction, incloses a square tract of land, laid out into walks shaded by cypress and *chinar*-trees, and watered by a variety of marble canals and small artificial cascades. Over the entrance, which is a lofty and arched passage, is built a pleasure-house. It consists of a central room, with a small closet at each corner. The ornaments and paintings with which it is embellished, are extremely rich and elegant. The

* Waring, p. 38. Saadi lived above a hundred years, and died in 1292. Hafiz died in 1388, or, according to one biographer, 1391.

wainscot is of Tabriz marble, inlaid with gold and ornamental flowers, birds, and domestic animals. The pannels of the doors are beautiful paintings, with the richest and most brilliant varnish ; and the ceiling and walls are all parcelled out into compartments, which display equal execution. In the centre of the garden is another of the principal pleasure-houses, which they call *Koolah-Frangee* (the Frank's Hat), because it is built something in the shape of one. There is a basin in the middle of the principal room, where a fountain refreshes the air. The paintings and ornaments are not less beautiful, and are more varied than those of the last described building.* If the painter's art had been equal to his fancy, these compositions would have excited as much admiration as they now afford amusement. The whole soil of this garden is artificial, having been excavated from the area below, and raised into a high terrace. The garden is now falling into decay ; but those who saw it in the reign of Kerim Khan, delight to describe its splendour, and do not cease to give the most ravishing pictures of the beauty of all the environs of his capital.”†

* Among the subjects are lion-hunts, combats of elephants and dragons, and the romantic adventures of Khosrau, Sheirein, and Ferhaud ; also, a bridal procession minutely represented, and next to it, the ceremonies of circumcision. Though gaudily coloured, these pictures are, however, very defective in drawing, both as to proportions and perspective. In the garden walls are figures of kings and queens, badly depicted in coloured tiles or glazed bricks ; but several have fallen out ; and before long, all are likely to disappear. The *Kulah Frangee* is not singular either in name or structure ; there are many others in Persia bearing the same appellation.—OUSELEY, vol. ii. p. 2.

† Morier, vol. ii. pp. 105, 6. Lieutenant Alexander, describing this garden in 1824, says : “ There is nothing remarkable about it, except its being the place where the late lamented Resident of

The tomb of the poet Saadi is situated in a recess in the mountains, near a small village about two miles to the N.E. of Shiraz. Kureem Khan is said to have spent 10,000 piastres in repairing and embellishing the quadrangular building erected over the tomb. "Nothing can be more unpicturesque," says Mr. Morier, "than the approaches to it. Not a speck of verdure is to be seen near it; and the hills that form an amphitheatre around, are of a sterility that inspires horror. The tomb, a square oblong stone, carved with inscriptions and ornaments, has been so abused and shattered, that one retires from it disgusted with its state and with the people who have suffered it. A poor, solitary dervish now occupies the building, who, besides the tomb, exhibits a copy of the poet's works, for which exhibition he gets whatever his visitors may choose to give him. The taste for poetry, so common to the Persians, may be remarked in the many lines scribbled on the white-washed walls of the room that incloses the tomb; a propensity which they exhibit on all places which are the resort of the idle and the curious." Outside the walls, a descent of seventy steps conducts the visiter to a small building erected over a remarkable fountain or well, abounding with fish, which are regarded as consecrated to Sheikh Saadi. The water is always cool, and delicious if tasted at an early hour, before the villagers have contaminated it by their ablutions. This spot was formerly called *Gazer-gah*, the Washer's Place, and *Kelat-i-Gazerân*, Bleacher's Buckets; but is now

Bagdad, Mr. Rich, was interred, and also Dr. Taylor. They were not allowed to rest in peace by the Shirazees; their grave-stones were broken, and it was thought advisable to take up their bones, and transport them to Isfahan for re-interment in the Armenian burial-ground."—p. 133.

often dignified with the name of *Saadiah*. “ Among the fishes,” says Sir W. Ouseley, “ I did not remark any of those which, as it was said, some enthusiastic admirers of Saadi had decorated with small gold rings : this, if ever, must have been done when to kill such creatures here, was reckoned an act of sacrilege which the deceased poet would himself punish with sudden death.”* In this curious subterranean pleasure-house, which the Sheikh is said to have frequented, there are recesses where the visiter may smoke his *kaleoon*, and enjoy a very different climate from that of Sheeraz.

Koh Saadi (Saadi’s Hill) is a triangular rock, presenting towards the plain a uniform white surface. On its summit are remains of a very ancient fortress, consisting of a tower and part of a wall, called the *Kaleh Bender*; more properly, the Castle of Fahender.† On the declivity towards Shiraz, is a famous well of great depth, into which, it is said, that women convicted of infidelity to their husbands were formerly thrown. “ We at first imagined,” says Mr. Morier, “ that it was a natural cavity ; but the regularity of its orifice, which is a parallelogram, induced us to conclude that it was a work of art, and to suppose that it might have been the *Aub-Ambar*, or reservoir

* Ouseley, vol. ii. p. 9. Chardin says: “ The common people deem the fish sacred to Sheikh Saadi, and believe, that if a person should take any of them, the saint would punish him with instant death.” Yet, by means of a trifling bribe, Chardin contrived that he and his friends, the Carmelite fathers, should carry off, on different occasions, *un grand plat* of these consecrated fishes. An unfortunate Armenian, on being detected in a similar sacrilege, was bastinadoed and fined a hundred crowns. Mr. Scott Waring describes this fountain as a *chushmu* or canal, flowing from the hill, apparently through an excavated channel.

† Chardin writes it *Fendar*; Le Brun, *Fandus*; others, *Bander*, and *Vander*.

of water, belonging to the castle whose ruined walls surround it. Its depth is considerable; but we omitted to try the experiment which Chardin made, who says, he rehearsed a pater-noster before a stone which he threw had reached the bottom! It is cut into the solid rock, the layer of which descends to a great depth; and as its grain is hard, the labour of cutting through it must have been great. The whole work excites surprise and admiration." This well has long been an object of curiosity to the inhabitants of Shiraz, several thousands visiting it every year, when they come for recreation to the garden of Dilgusha below it, or to perform their devotions at the tomb of Saadi. Few leave it without having thrown in a stone or two; and, as this practice has been continued for ages, it has given rise to the popular notion, that the well is without bottom. Several Persians assured Sir W. Ouseley, that subterraneous currents prevented these stones from settling at the bottom.* He found it to be the haunt of pigeons. "Of the well and its mysteries," continued the learned Traveller, "very extraordinary and incredible stories are related; according to more authentic reports, however, it is said to have been ascertained, on actual examination, (though not without much personal danger, and even the loss of lives,) that lateral ramifications extend through the excavated rock to a considerable distance, terminating in chambers, or sinking abruptly into profound abysses, which, at least within the memory of man, no person has ventured to explore.

* Le Brun "found it to be 420 feet in depth." Mirza Joon stated, that water was reached at the depth of about 150 *seeraas* (270 feet). "Mr. Morier's English servant ascertained the well to be 350 *yards* deep." Such are the conflicting statements given by the learned Traveller.

There are certain spots of the mountain, two or three hundred yards from this well, where the foot treading produced sounds which seem to indicate vaults or hollows immediately beneath ; yet, here the surface appears to be of the original, unbroken stone. These sounds I particularly remarked among the foundations of some walls which could not have occasioned them : it was in that quarter of the castle where King Jemsheed, as one tradition relates, constructed a palace, and where, according to the loose chronology of my guide, that monarch's treasures were concealed, three, four, or, perhaps, five thousand years ago."

The real history of the fortress is given by Sir W. Ouseley from the "*Shiraz Namah*," which refers to ancient chronicles as the authority for the tradition; that, in former times, Fahender was one of the most considerable castles of Fars, having been occupied by the sovereigns of the country before the foundation of Shiraz. "There is a tradition, that Fahender was one of the brothers of Shapour Dhulectaf, the son of Hormuz; and that, having fled from the presence of his brother, he came with a numerous army into the region of Shiraz, where he was joined by several of the Sassanian family, who were in a state of rebellion, and the inhabitants of Fars submitted to him. By Fahender's arrangements, the castle was supplied with water; and he constructed there some edifices with fortifications. Tradition also informs us, that when Sheruiah had murdered in one day his own father, Purviz, and his seventeen brothers and nephews (A.D. 627),* Yezdejerd, then an infant in his fourth year, was saved by his nurse, who fled and brought him to Fars. It is said, that he continued in the castle of

* See page 123, of this volume.

Fahender two years and a half; and having afterwards assumed the royal authority, he sent to this place, that they might be safely preserved, the crown of Nushirvan, various jewels, and rich treasures; and he caused a deep excavation, a pit or well, to be made, and therein he buried those treasures, which, as many persons say, were discovered in the time of Azzed ad Douleh, into whose hands they fell: * others are of opinion, that they still remain there with a talisman constructed over them, so that it is not possible to find the means of drawing forth those treasures." Other chronicles state, that they were removed by order of Yezdejerd, the son of Purviz, on the approach of the Mussulman forces in the khalifate of Othman, and deposited in trust with the khakan of Chin or Tatory. The castle, on being taken by the Arabians, was reduced to ruin; and it remained in this state till the time of Emad ad Douleh, who ordered his people to seek the fountain-head whence Yezdejerd had derived water for the castle. "Yezdejerd had formed over the well in this castle, a dome or cupola with 360 windows,† and he constructed an edifice resem-

* "An intelligent Persian," with whom the Author conversed, thought it most probable, that some treasures had really been found at this place in the tenth century, as related in the *Rauzet al Saffi*. A damsel belonging to the royal harem had formed a clandestine intimacy with one of the prince's soldiers. This man, having pursued a fox to his hiding place, discovered a fissure, from which, by several steps, he descended into a chamber, wherein he beheld a hundred urns full of gold and jewels. For some time he kept his secret, but, in a fit of intoxication, he disclosed the whole to the damsel, who revealed it most loyally to the prince, having received his ring as a pledge of forgiveness for her violation of the harem. The prince obtained the treasures, bestowed part on the soldier, and gave him the damsel as a wife.

† Sir W. Ouseley supposes this edifice to have been erected for the purposes of astronomy. Makrizi describes the temple of Denderah as "a wonderful edifice with one hundred and eighty win-

bling a place of religious retirement or of worship, which was held in great esteem by the devout. But, on the promulgation of Islam, Emad ad Douleh rebuilt the castle after another manner. Again it sank into decay, until Abu Ghanem, the son of Azzed ad Douleh, being desirous of improving the castle, caused a villa which his father had constructed outside the *Salm* gate of Shiraz, to be pulled down, and the wood, iron, and other materials to be transferred from that spot to the castle, where he rebuilt with them the villa or summer-house called the *kiushk* of Emad ad Douleh, and rendered it a very pleasant place. There, within the fortress, Abu Ghanem for some time resided; and it was highly ornamented, and flourished exceedingly. And many historians declare, that the treasures and arms of the ancient Persian kings, with money and jewels, accumulated during the government of the Buiah family, had been hoarded up and guarded there; that some fell into the hands of the Seljoukian princes, and that others remain in the castle of Fahender unto this day.”* Such is the historical foundation for the opinion still prevalent, that the subterranean recesses of this deserted castle contain treasures magically concealed, of which a dragon is the guardian.

At the foot of the hill is the *Bagh dil Gushâ* (the heart-expanding garden), “the best garden,” Mr. Waring says, “without the city. It is ornamented with some handsome buildings; a stream runs through

dows, through one of which the sun enters each day successively until he arrives at the last; then, retracing his course, he finishes at that window at which he began.” A similar edifice is mentioned by a Persian writer of the seventeenth century, as having been erected by the Emir Abbas of the Ghoor dynasty in Zabulistan,—

OUSELEY, ii. 40, *notes*.

* Ouseley, ii. pp. 33—40.

it, which descends in falls; and the prospect here is more extensive than at any other garden." This, too, is the work of Kureem Khan, and it has shared in the ill fate of all the buildings and improvements erected by that munificent sovereign, being now hastening to ruin. Like all the other gardens belonging to the government, it is farmed out by the prince to the Shiraz gardeners, who rear fruits, flowers, and vegetables for the city, but pay no attention to their appearance.

Proceeding from the castle of Fahender about three miles eastward, the traveller discovers, on a rising ground, some ruins of an edifice from thirty to forty feet square, "generally called *Mesjed-i-Mader-i-Suleiman*, the temple of Solomon's Mother. They are situated on a hill that branches from the mountains which form the N.E. boundary of the plain of Shiraz, and, when first seen, have, according to Mr. Morier, the appearance of gibbets. The principal objects are three portals: the upright pilasters or lintels, are about eleven or twelve feet high, supporting a block of marble seven or eight feet long. The building appears to have been originally a square of 158 feet. "I look upon these ruins," says this Traveller; "as a theft from Persepolis, being all of the self-same architecture, materials, and sculpture: besides which, their parts do not fit each other, and cannot have been originally put together in their present state. On the interior of the lintels are sculptured figures, similar, both in costume and character, to those seen at Persepolis. Close to the lintel which is nearest to the salt lake, we discovered a stone covered with figures, sculptured in relief on three of its sides; one of which sides being placed close to another stone forming a continuation of the front of the masonry, proves that

its original position was not where we found it, and that it must have stood on some other building where all the figures met the eye." * "To whomsoever we may ascribe this building," remarks Sir W. Ouseley, "it affords an interesting subject of investigation, which should not be restricted to the square itself; for, in the adjacent grounds, now uncultivated, sufficient proofs of former habitation may be found. Vestiges of ancient walls extend above a mile; and on the left, not far from the three door-ways, are ruins of a castle. Among the sculptured fragments I could not discover inscriptions of any kind; but it is probable, that future researches may bring some to light. A subterraneous chamber also may perhaps be found: although my inquiries after it were unsuccessful, subsequent information induces me to believe that it is very near the square edifice." †

"The next object of antiquarian curiosity," continues the learned Traveller, "is about one mile and a half from this, but, in age and character, it is altogether different. It consists of three compartments or tablets cut in the face of a solid rock, below which runs a delightful stream of the most pure and excellent water abounding with fish. In each compartment is represented a man: the largest contains also the

* Niebuhr also supposed that these sculptured stones were brought from *Chehel Minar* or Persepolis; and he remarks, that "they are here as ill-placed as the ancient columns found in modern Egyptian buildings." The *Mader-i-Suleiman* is delineated by Kœmpfer and Le Brun; two of the figures are given by Sir W. Ouseley, and one more distinctly by Mr. Morier.—See OUSELEY, ii. 41—46. MORIER, ii. 65.

† Close to a village that stands near the hill of the *Mader-i-Suleiman*, Mr. Morier was shewn "the scarcely to be distinguished scratches of an inscription," which he supposed to be Pehlavi, and "just above it, on the mountain, an excavated tomb."—MORIER, ii. 66.

figure of a woman. To an eye conversant with their gems and medals, it is evident, that the men at least are of the Sassanian family.....The figures are all equal in height and proportions to full-grown persons, very tall and large, but not absolutely gigantic; and in execution, they scarcely yield to the monuments at Shapoor." The middle compartment represents a stately and handsome personage with the globular crown and winged tiara, as seen on the medals of the Sassanian dynasty. Near his knee, occur the letters V R H R, forming part of an imperfect inscription; and Sir W. Ouseley confidently pronounces the monarch in question to be Varahran V. or Baharam Gour, who perished in the year 441. In the largest compartment, the queen (as the royal tiara indicates her to be) is receiving from the monarch's right hand a flower, or some ornament: her flowing drapery is light and well managed, but the face is completely mutilated. Between the figures are four lines of a defaced and illegible inscription in Pehlavi. This spot is known under the name of the *Chashmeh* (or *Chushmu*) i *Sulatein*, the fountain of the kings; but a traveller will be directed to it with the greatest certainty, if he inquire for the *Nakhsh-i-Rustam*; a name given to all similar monuments.*

* Ouseley, ii. pp. 46—50. It was so called by Mr. Morier's guide. "The sculptures are difficult," he says, "to be discovered, because they are situated in the corner of a nook of the mountain, and being in very low relief, are not easily seen, unless the sun strikes full upon them. The best guide to them is the source of a rivulet of pure water, that rises about a hundred yards from them on this side Shiraz. By keeping close to the mountain, they are discovered immediately behind the first projection of rocks at the foot of which this stream flows." He describes them as of very rude workmanship, and makes them *three miles* from the *Mader-i-Suleiman*; twice the distance mentioned by Sir W. Ouseley. Chardin mentions these sculptures as known by the appellation of the

While the British embassy was detained at Shiraz, during the months of May and June 1811, waiting the arrival of a *mehmandar* from his Persian majesty, the ambassador occupied a summer-palace, called the *Takht-i-Kujur* (the throne or seat of the Kujur), erected by Aga Mohammed Khan. "It is situated about a mile and a quarter north of the city, and one mile west of the *Jehan Nemah*, on a terrace cut from a rock at the foot of a mountain. Behind it, is a court inclosed with lofty walls, containing a *hawz** or reservoir of water, with a few trees and flowers. In front, below the terrace, is another *hawz*, so large as to claim the title of *deriácheh* (a little lake), with a well planted garden covering several acres. The hall of audience is a spacious apartment, twenty feet high, open on one side, and on the other filled up with a large window of stained-glass. At each side of this principal room are some smaller chambers, richly gilt and painted in compartments, representing scenes from various popular romances, hunting-parties, and arabesques.† This palace is decidedly inferior, both in

But Khaneh, the house of idols; a name vulgarly applied to many monuments: his description is brief and incorrect, as he magnifies the figures to thirteen or fourteen feet in height. Kœmpfer says, the place was called *Bermeh deleh*. Deslandes, Thevenot, and Le Brun describe them under the name of *Kademgah*, the footstep or vestige, which is often bestowed on spots held sacred. Their descriptions are inaccurate, if the same spot be meant. In Thevenot's time, the place was known to few, being surrounded by marshes and covered with trees.

* Sir W. Ouseley saw, in the court of a grandee of Shiraz, "a large reservoir, or *hawz*, containing water, of which the smooth surface was entirely covered with various flowers, so as to resemble a fine carpet in brilliancy of tints; but the pattern was formal, as several rods or switches separated the flowers according to their colours, in distinct and regular compartments."—vol. ii. p. 192.

† This palace was also occupied by Col. Macdonald Kinneir in 1824.

solidity and in ornament, to the works of Kureem Khan. The gardens, however, must be delightful. "If Shiraz produces tarantulas, scorpions, and snakes," remarks Sir W. Ouseley, "it abounds also with *bulbuls*, or nightingales, hundreds of them singing in the *Takht-i-Cajar* garden, not only at night, but during the day.....During our encampment near the gardens, I have passed many nocturnal hours in listening to the nightingale's soft melody, interrupted sometimes by the howlings of jackals, and not unfrequently by the tones of musical instruments or the voices of singing-boys, heard from the *Baba Kuhi*, that favourite haunt of the dissolute Shirazians." This is a pleasant spot, above the palace, commanding a beautiful view of the city and valley. It takes its name from the tomb of a Mohammedan saint of the eleventh century, and is reported to be the scene of the most disgusting orgies. The *Dilgusha*, the *Jehan Nema*, and all the neighbouring gardens, are vocal, at this season (July), with the "love-laboured song" of this sweet bird; and it is confidently asserted, that they will emulously contend with human musicians for the mastery in the loudness and variety of their notes.*

We reserve for another place, a description of the ceremonies of the Persian court, and the entertainments given in honour of the British envoys; but the visit which Lady Ouseley paid to the Queen, the mother of the prince-governor of Shiraz, Husein Ali Mirza, must not be passed over. This old lady resided chiefly at Shiraz, and was reported to have great influence over her son, interfering in the administra-

* Sir W. Ouseley is disposed, however, to treat as an exaggeration or a fable, the statements of the natives, that these contests sometimes prove fatal to the bird. See, for some curious remarks on the subject, Ouseley, vol. ii. pp. 219—22; 481—5.

tion of affairs, and enriching herself greatly by commerce and monopolies. Lady Ouseley, with her daughter, went in a palankeen, which was carried to the gate of the harem by her own Indian bearers, two English maids following in a *cajávah*. At the foot of some stairs near a dark arched way, the palankeen was taken up by women, who set down her ladyship close to the room in which the Queen was seated. This was an apartment open in front, supported by two columns, and shaded by an extended curtain. It looked out upon a square court, laid out in flowerbeds and straight avenues, with canals and basins of water. Along the side of the canal stood the Prince's wives and women in rows. None of them appeared beautiful, but their dresses were rich and covered with precious stones. The Queen's dress was rendered so cumbersome by the quantity of jewels embroidered upon it, that she could scarcely move under its weight. Her ample trowsers or drawers (*xirjamah*) in particular, were so "engrafted with pearl, that they looked more like a piece of mosaic than wearing apparel. Padded with cotton inside, stiffened by cloth of gold without, they were so fashioned as to exclude the possibility of discovering the shape of the leg, and kept it cased up, as it were in the shaft of a column." A chair had been provided for Lady Ouseley: the Queen sat in the usual manner on a *nummud* of soft felt, supported by cushions, her feet being just so far visible as to discover her slippers encrusted with pearls. Her daughter, then about sixteen, and celebrated for her beauty, was also sitting;* ten or twelve young women

* Lady Ouseley reported the princess to be naturally beautiful, but disfigured by the great quantity of red and white daubed over her face. Her arched eyebrows were connected over the nose by a stripe of black paint, and her eyelids and lashes were strongly tinged

stood by, during the interview, in respectful silence. Sweetmeats, fruit, and sherbet were served up in vessels of gold; but the *kaleoon* was not brought in, it being understood that Lady Ouseley could not endure smoking. The whole scene appears to have been conducted with the utmost propriety and magnificence. Meantime, the English maids were entertained in another chamber; but their delicacy, we are informed, was somewhat offended at the manner in which some of the Queen's ladies endeavoured to gratify their curiosity respecting different articles of European dress. The day after the visit, the Queen sent *khilauts* or dresses of honour to Lady Ouseley, her daughter, and the two female attendants, the most remarkable parts of which were the brocade trowsers, so stiff that they stood upright.*

Some further interesting particulars relating to the dress, manners, and character of the *Sheerazees*, are furnished by Mr. Scott Waring, who spent about six weeks in this city in 1802. The curiosity of the women who lived in the adjoining house, afforded him, he says, frequent opportunities, not only of seeing, but of conversing with them. "And what," he adds, "may appear strange, after the accounts we have of Eastern jealousy, this was usually in the presence of their husbands, who did not evince the least repugnance to my seeing their wives. My being a European probably entitled me to this indulgence."

"The dress of the Persians is admirably calculated either for a cold or a hot climate. Their limbs are under no restraint, and their clothes may be put on or thrown off in five minutes. The *zeer-jamus* are

with antimony. Mr. Morier was informed, that she was at the time betrothed to a Kujur, then a child of three years old!

* Ouseley, vol. ii. pp. 51—53. Morier, vol. ii. p. 61.

very light trowsers made of silk: those worn in the hot weather are sometimes of flax. The *peerahun*, or shirt, comes over the trowsers; and then the *urkhalik*, which is made of a Masulipatam chintz, or fine shawls. The outside robe, or *kouba*, is made of various kinds of cloth, some of which are magnificent and expensive. The *kolah*, or cap, is made of the skin of the sheep of Tatar, which is very fine and beautifully black. The merchants are prohibited wearing either scarlet or crimson cloths, and using silver or gold buttons to their robes.* The wearing of silks is interdicted by the Moosulman law, but they evade this by mixing a very little cotton with them. A large quantity of this kind of cloth (*gurmasoot*) is imported into Persia from Guzerat. The Persians neither resemble those of old, nor their neighbours the Indians, in effeminacy of dress. The king, I believe, is the only person in the empire who wears any kind of jewels; † and he does so only on state occasions. They greatly ridicule the fondness the Indians have for female ornaments. The pompous and high-sounding titles of India are likewise a fund of amusement to them; for, excepting the dignity of *Ihtimad-ood-doulu*, which is given to their prime minister, and the hereditary honour of khan, there are no other marks of distinction among them.

“ It is the custom of the military men to press down

* “ Shah Abbas, who wished to make the merchants very frugal, issued an order, that they were always to wear shawl turbans and robes of broad cloth. This, he thought, would be the cheapest dress that they could wear, as the shawl would last their lives, and descend to their children, and the cloths would last some years.” Sumptuary laws equally absurd have been enacted by European sovereigns.

† This statement is singularly incorrect. Prince Husein Ali was richly decorated with pearls and jewellery in the interviews with Sir Gore Ouseley and Col. Macdonald in 1811 and 1824.

their caps on one side ; the *meerza* or civil officers twist a shawl about them ; and the artificers, tradesmen, &c., wear their cap upright. A Persian soldier, armed cap-a-pie, is of all figures the most ridiculous. It is really laughable to see how they encumber themselves with weapons of defence : their horses groan under the weight of their arms. These consist of a pair of pistols in their holsters, a single one slung in their waist, a carbine or a long Turkish gun, a sword, a dagger, and an immense long spear. For all these fire-arms they have separate ramrods tied about their persons, powder-horns for loading, others for priming, and a variety of cartouch-boxes, filled with different-sized cartridges. If they are advancing towards you, they may be heard a long way off. I should suppose that their saddle and arms would weigh about 80 lb. Yet, they consider themselves as light-armed troops, ridiculing the Turkish cavalry, who, they say, can take care of little else than their big boots * and cap. The arms of the Persians are very good, particularly their swords, which are highly prized by the Turks.†

“ The dress of the Persians is very expensive, frequently amounting to 60 or 100 guineas. The poor people wear no cap, and very little clothes : when the cold weather comes on, they make dresses out of sheep

* The Persian gentlemen ride in a sort of cloth boot or stocking, called *shakshour*, generally of crimson, with green, high-heeled *kafsh* or slippers. In common use, they wear socks not rising above the ankle, generally of worsted in various patterns, and sometimes of very gaudy colours ; they are called *jurab* or *zurab*. An important part of the equipage of a man of consequence in travelling on horseback, is the smoking apparatus, which is carried by the pipe-trimmers in boxes fashioned for the purpose ; and when used, the *kaleoon* is supported by a *chatter*, or running footman, who walks at the right stirrup of his master.

† “ The Khorasan swords are more valuable than any others, the blade alone often costing 20 or 30 guineas.”

skins, &c....Although the Persians bathe so often, (which is a luxurious enjoyment, rather than an act of cleanliness,) they are a very dirty people. They very rarely change their garments, and seldom before it is dangerous to come near them. It is thought nothing, to wear a shirt a month, or a pair of trousers half a year.*

“ The women of Persia, when at home, do not encumber themselves with many clothes, nor are they very attentive to the whiteness of their garments. A *peerahun* and a pair of *zeer-jamus* form the whole of their dress. The trousers are made of thick velvet, and their shift either of muslin, silk, or gauze. Their legs appear literally to be tied up in two sacks, and the *peerahun* is but *concealment visible* to the rest of their persons. This is their summer apparel: in the winter, they wear garments made of shawls, silks stuffed with cotton, and, if they can afford it, cloaks made of sable. When they leave the house, they put on a cloak which descends from the head to the feet, and their faces are concealed with oriental scrupulosity. The veil which they wear, is sometimes worked like a net, or else two holes for the eyes are made in the cloak.† Many of the women of Sheeraz are as fair

* Charges of dirtiness may be retaliated by the Asiatics on Christian nations. The Persian cannot be regarded as dirty *par excellence*. “ The Hindoo,” says this Writer, “ who bathes constantly, will allow his *white* robe to drop off nearly with filth, before he thinks of changing it.” Some Europeans carry as much dirt about them, and never bathe.

† This is not peculiar to the Persian ladies; and many of the Author’s observations apply to them, only in common with the Arabian, Egyptian, and even Spanish women. His assertion, that, “ as long as they conceal their face, they care not how much they expose the rest of their person,” is, assuredly, by far too unqualified and sweeping. But “ the Persian women,” adds this Writer, “ like the Indian, are totally devoid of delicacy; their language is

as those of Europe; but confinement robs them of that lovely bloom so essential to female beauty.*

“ Many of the great people keep sets of Georgian boys, who are instructed to sing, to play on various instruments, and to perform feats of activity. The Persian songs are very sweet and pathetic, and the music which accompanied their voices, I thought very good.† Their songs are in praise of wine and beauty, mixed with frequent complaints of the cruelty of their mistresses. The Arabic songs are sung in parts, and much quicker than the Persian time. Although the Persian music is so greatly superior to that of India, their dances are much inferior, being nothing more than an exhibition of the most indecent and disgusting

often gross and disgusting; nor do they feel less hesitation in expressing themselves before men, than they would before their female associates. Their terms of abuse or reproach are indelicate to the utmost degree. It is not possible for language to express more indecent or grosser images.”

* The use of the bath and cosmetics have a greater share in producing this effect.

† Sir W. Ouseley, describing the performance of a set of four musicians, says: “ Several Persian odes were sung to very pleasing tunes; and at the desire of a particular guest, a *Cabul* air was performed, which abounded in passages of exquisite sweetness.” One of the performers played on the *kamounsheh*, a sort of viol, occasionally accompanying it with his voice; the second sang, “ fanning his mouth with a bit of paper, to aid the undulations of his voice;” the third played on the *deff* or tambourine; and the fourth, an Abyssinian black, beat two small drums. Mr. Morier describes the performance as too noisy to be agreeable, although in the Persians it excited rapture; but, upon another occasion, “ a player on the *kamounsheh* really drew forth notes which might have done credit to the better instruments of the west; and the elastic manner in which he passed his bow across the strings, shewed that he would have been an accomplished performer, if his ear had been tutored to the delicacies and harmonies of our science.” Their guitar is much the same as ours.—MORIER, vol. i. p. 113; vol. ii. p. 92; OUSELEY, vol. ii. p. 203.

movements and gestures.*....After the dancers come another description of people, if possible of more infamous morals. They are called *lootees*, a kind of buffoon, and, as I learned, have free access to the prince and governor, whom they amuse by a variety of indecent stories, which they relate or invent. Both the prince and the governor keep a set of these wretches, who are allowed to take the greatest liberties with the characters of the most respectable inhabitants, who are obliged, in their own defence, to make them presents, to ensure their forbearance, and to get rid of their importunity. They perform feats of activity and sleights of hand; but their principal means of subsistence is the contributions they levy on strangers. They appear to be a privileged people. Another amusement, among those who can afford it, is listening to a *Shah-namu-khoon*, a person who repeats and acts various passages of Ferdousee's epic poem, called the *Shah Namu*. This is an amusement of a very superior kind, and one which a stranger is sure to delight in. They act the different descriptions of the poet with great spirit, particularly the account of the battle between Roostum, the hero of the poem, and Sohrab. Although I did not understand the meaning of several words, I was fully able to comprehend the purport of every verse; and, as they repeat the lines in an artificial voice, you are able to follow them with ease."†

This Traveller was witness to a curious custom in

* The Author vindicates the Indian dancers from the charge of indelicacy, remarking, with some justice, that "people often court, before they are shocked by the indecency of these dancers." The Persian dancers were, however, originally imported from India, and the dancing women of Persia cannot be more infamous.

† Waring, ch. xlii. xiv. xv. See also, for a description of some of these performances, Morier's *First Journey*, pp. 111—114; 119. *Second Journey*, pp. 104, 5.

celebration of the death of the Khalif Omar, who seems to occupy much the same place in the estimation of the Sheah rabble, as Judas the traitor does in that of the Spanish populace, or Guy Fawkes in England. A large platform being erected, they fixed an image to it, as much disfigured and deformed as possible, to which they began to address all sorts of reviling language, for having supplanted Ali, the lawful successor of the Prophet. At length, having exhausted all their vocabulary of abuse, they suddenly attacked the image with stones and sticks, until they had shattered it to pieces. The inside was filled with sweetmeats, which were greedily devoured by the mob. The Arabs, who are Soonees, cannot refrain from shewing their displeasure at this "absurd custom." With the lower classes of Persia, however, Ali is every thing. Their oaths are in the name of Ali. *Ulee mudud* (Ali help me) is the usual exclamation, and his name is believed to be a spell against almost every danger; especially against attack from a lion, which will not touch a good Sheah who makes himself known by this exclamation, but will presently devour a Soonee.

The people of Shiraz, Mr. Morier tells us, regard themselves as the prime of Persians, esteeming their language as the most pure, and their pronunciation as the most correct; and they are never so well pleased as when the dialect and manners of the Isfahanees are ridiculed by their drolls and mimics. They attribute to them a drawling manner of speaking, and a sort of affected nonchalance, which, when caricatured by the buffoons, excite ecstasies of laughter. The former boast of their superior learning, while the Sheerazee is, for the most part, devoted to pleasure. "*Isfuhān nisfi Juhoon*," Isfahan equal to half the world, say the Persians of that city. "*Sheerazi mā uz Isfuhoon*

bih," Our Sheeraz is superior to Isfahan, is the often cited line of Hafiz. The city is still styled on coins *Dar al Ylm*, the Gate of Science; but its learned men are no more.

Shiraz has no extensive manufactory. Excepting a few swords and a little wine,* they export nothing to the northern parts of Persia. "Many of the artisans," however, Mr. Scott Waring says, "are very ingenious, particularly in all kinds of enamel work. It is really surprising to see the lustre, and at the same time the mellowness of their colours, and the wonderful accuracy of the smallest figures. They work likewise very well in gold and silver, and in making ornaments for bridles, saddles, &c."....They have a glass-house and a foundery, both worth seeing. The glass bottoms to the *kaleons* are ornamented inside with representations of trees, flowers, &c., and sometimes with small medallions incrusting in the glass. "Some of the artificers," it is added, "are ingenious, able men; but their qualifications are actually misfortunes, as they are compelled to work for the principal people in the city, without the smallest hope of being recompensed for their labour, or being repaid for the expenses they

* "Tavernier mentions, that 4125 tons of wine were annually made at Sheeraz; but this is by no means the case at present, for every man in Persia manufactures his own wine, and the exportation of it to foreign countries must be very trifling. The most advantageous trade for the merchant is probably in horses, of which numbers are sent by every vessel to the different ports in India. Persia produces large quantities of gums and drugs, particularly asafœtida, which is in great demand in India.... Pearls of every description are sent in quantities to that country, where they are esteemed superior to those of Ceylon. Chests of wine and of rose-water are likewise sent there, but the quantity is very inconsiderable."—WARING, ch. xix.

have incurred. This was really the situation of a very able gunsmith, who made pistols nearly equal to those in Europe."

"The merchants of Persia are a shrewd, sensible, and thrifty class of people, willing to undergo any hardship, if they have a prospect of making money. Many of them visit India. Others send agents to manage their concerns, particularly to Masulipatam, to superintend the manufacture of chintz. They often undertake long journeys; frequently to Cashmeer, where they supply themselves with shawls. Besides the danger of this journey, they can seldom hope to receive the returns for their money before the expiration of three years; from which it is easy to form some notion of their profits and of the present state of the trade in Persia. The trade of Persia is comparatively of very little advantage to the state: it adds but little to the revenue, and affords employment to a small number of muleteers.... There are manufactories of silk at Kashan and Yezd; but they do not fabricate more than supplies the consumption of the country. The cloths, however, of Isfahan, Kashan, and Yezd, are exported from Persia into Russia, whence they bring in return, broad-cloths, velvets, satins, and cutlery. The situation of Yezd makes it the emporium for all the trade in Persia. Coarse purpets are sent there in large quantities, and are sold to the Uzbeg Tatars and to the people of Khorasan: the merchant makes his returns in silk, carpets, felts, and the shawls of Cashmeer. There are many cities in Persia, which supply the adjacent towns with the produce of their manufactories. At Kerman, they make shawls, which are worn by the poor people, and are sent all over Persia. But, speaking generally, they

rely almost entirely on foreigners for furnishing them with articles of dress and luxury." *

We cannot take leave of "the Persian Athens," without adverting to the interesting circumstances connected with the visit paid by the lamented Henry Martyn to this capital. His primary object was, to collect the opinions of learned natives with respect to the Persian version of the Four Gospels, which had been executed by Sabat, under his superintendence, in India. This had been objected to as abounding with Arabic idioms, and as written in a style, pleasing indeed to the learned, but not sufficiently level to the capacities of common readers. No sooner had Mr. Martyn personally ascertained the general correctness of this opinion, than he commenced a new version into Persian; having found an able and willing coadjutor in this arduous work, in the person of Mirza Seid Ali Khan, a learned Sooffee, and brother-in-law of Jaffier Ali Khan, a man of rank, to whom he had letters of recommendation. The work was commenced on the 17th of June, little more than a week after his reaching Shiraz; but, at first, he was continually interrupted by the numerous visiters, moollahs, Jews, Armenians, and others, to whom the English *Padre* became an object of attention and curiosity. About the middle of July, however, when the heat within the city became almost too intense for his enfeebled frame to bear, Jaffier Ali Khan pitched a tent for his guest in a garden beyond the walls, where he was enabled to prosecute his work with little intermission. "Living amidst clusters of grapes by the side of a clear stream," as he himself describes it, or, in the cool of the evening, sitting under the shade of

* Waring, pp. 47, 31, 76, 77.

an orange-tree, which his noble-minded host delighted to point out to visitors long after,—he passed many a tranquil hour in solitude, or in converse with the few natives who discovered an anxiety for information on the subject of Christianity.

After some hesitation and demur, upon the 15th of July, the *Moojtuhid*, or professor of Mohammedan law, consented to hold a discussion upon religious topics with the English Padre, and sent him an invitation to dine with him. Mr. Martyn, who neither sought nor shunned the society of the natives, accepted the invitation; but the professor waived at that time any close discussion.* So universal a spirit of inquiry had, however, been excited in the city by Mr. Martyn's frequent disputations, as well as by the notorious circumstance of his being engaged in a translation of the New Testament into Persian, that the "Preceptor of all the Moollahs," Mirza Ibraheem Ben al Hosyn, began to fear whereunto this would grow. On the 26th of July, therefore, an Arabic defence of Mohammedism made its appearance from his pen. This work, Mr. Martyn immediately set himself to refute; and his reply drew forth an encomium even from his candid and amiable opponent. It was circulated through different parts of Persia, and was sent from hand to hand to be answered. At length, it made its way to the court, and a *moollah* of high consideration, the chief priest of Hamadan, was ordered to answer it. More than a year elapsed before the mandate was complied with; and ere that time, the Man of God (*merdi Khodâi*), as the Persians styled Mr. Martyn,

* He had subsequently an interview with Mirza Abul Kasim, the head of the Sooffees, of whom a large proportion of the Shirazees are stated to have been at the time, either the avowed or the secret disciples.

had finished his course, and ceased from his labours.*

Towards the end of November, great progress having been made in the translation of the New Testament, Mr. Martyn ordered two splendid copies of it to be prepared, designing to present the one to the Shah, and the other to Abbas Mirza, the heir apparent. He now resolved to commence a version of the Psalms into Persian from the original Hebrew. His resolution to pass the winter at Shiraz was not formed without a considerable sacrifice of feeling, owing to the depravity and misery of which he was compelled to be the witness, and which, to a mind endued with so much sensibility and tenderness, was a source of constant anguish.† On the 24th of February, 1812, the last sheet of the New Testament was finished; and the version of the Psalms was completed by the middle of March. On the 23d of that month, he had an opportunity of intrepidly asserting the Christian faith respecting the deity of Christ, before a very numerous body of moollahs, in the court of one of the palaces. He remained at Shiraz till the 24th of May, when he left it to repair to Tabriz.

* Mr. Martyn's three Tracts in answer to Meerza Ibrahim, the Mirza's Tract, the rejoinder of Mahommed Ruza, and an able discussion by the Editor of the whole, with other important documents in Persian and English, will be found in Professor Lee's "Controversial Facts," already referred to. (8vo. Camb. 1824.) An analysis of its contents will be found in the Eclectic Review, vol. xxviii. (Sept. 1827.)

† "From what I suffer in this city, I can understand the feelings of Lot. The face of the poor Russian appears to me like the face of an angel, because he does not tell lies."—MARTYN'S *Journal*, Mem. p. 425. "Such a painful year I never passed, owing to the privations I have been called to on the one hand, and the spectacle before me of human depravity on the other. But I hope that I have not come to this seat of Satan in vain."—*Ib.* p. 431.

Towards the close of his residence in this city, Mr. Martyn appears to have been treated with increased deference and respect; and he passed some days very agreeably in Jaffier Ali Khan's garden, reading, at the request of his visitors, the Old Testament histories. On one occasion, Aga Baba, who had been reading the Gospel of St. Matthew, related very circumstantially to the company the particulars of the death of Christ. "The bed of roses on which we sat, and the notes of the nightingale warbling around us, were not so sweet to me," said Mr. Martyn, "as this discourse from the Persian." "Clever and intelligent," he elsewhere remarks of the people generally, "had they a good government and the Christian religion, they are more calculated to become great and powerful, than any of the nations of the East."

These details, it is hoped, will not be deemed out of place in the present work, since they tend to throw a new light upon the state of society in this city. The impression which Mr. Martyn made upon the inhabitants, by his humility, his patience and resignation, and his evident sincerity and disinterestedness, is stated by Mr. Morier to have been very powerful. And Sir Robert Ker Porter, who visited Shiraz several years after, bears a similar testimony. "On leaving its walls," he remarks, "the Apostle of Christianity found no cause for shaking off the dust of his feet against the Mohammedan city. The inhabitants had received, cherished, and listened to him; and he departed thence amidst the blessings and tears of many a Persian friend."*

It is with melancholy impressions that the stranger

* Morier, vol. ii. p. 222. Porter, vol. i. p. 687.

bids adieu to this once luxurious capital, where every thing bears the marks of deterioration and decay, the symptoms of misgovernment and national decline. The bowers of Hafiz are no longer to be found ; his favourite stream, unsheltered from the burning sun, and impeded in its channel by neglect, has forgotten its ancient course ; the tomb of Saadi is deserted and dishonoured ; the college, once the boast of the city, is in ruins ; all the splendid works of the good Vakeel are going to decay ; and the very climate seems to have partaken of the general change. Yet, there are seasons, we are told, when the valley of Shiraz still appears to justify the florid descriptions of its poets. It should not be visited during the heats of summer. " When September commences," says Sir Robert Ker Porter, in language almost oriental, " the weather becomes heavenly, and continues, until the end of November, with a perfectly serene atmosphere, of a most balmy and agreeable temperature. The earth is covered with flowers, fruits, and the gathered harvest,—melons, peaches, pears, nectarines, cherries, grapes, pomegranates ; in short, all is a garden, abundant in sweets and refreshments. And, thus fortunate in the fruits of the earth, it possesses the additional attraction of giving birth to the most beautiful women in Persia....Though the groves of chenar, cypress, and other lofty trees have disappeared, the humbler and not less useful fruit-trees, with thickets of flowering shrubs, canopy the earth in abundance. On this bed of delicious verdure, the eye may revel all along the valley, when looking down from the adjacent heights." * From this glowing descrip-

* Porter's Travels, vol. i. pp. 709, 10. The grapes in the vineyards to the east of Shiraz, attain a size and richness hardly to be

tion, we may at least infer what Shiraz once was.—
And now for Persepolis.

matched in other climates, producing the celebrated wine of Shiraz. But the vine is now comparatively neglected, and the sorting of the fruit little attended to. The Armenians alone venture upon the manufacture, which is done in secret.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.





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